Canada Under Victoria

BY

JOHN A. COOPER, B. A., LL. B.

Editor of the Canadian Magazine

Being Four Chapters contributed to a Volume, entitled "Queen Victoria," published by the World Publishing Co., Guelph, and now reprinted for private circulation.

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INTRODUCTION

Perhaps no other sovereign ever wielded so great an influence upon a people and upon the world as Her Majesty, Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India. Her influence was moral rather than political, and she was as much the mother of the nation as its respected and illustrious sovereign.

Her court was pure; her life serene;
God gave her peace; her land reposed;
A thousand claims to reverence closed
In her as Mother, Wife and Queen.
—Tennyson.

For nearly sixty-four years she was the head of the British nation, and with the progress of the years she gained more and more of the respect and love of her subjects. "The Queen" was a Mother and a friend to millions of people who knew her face only through her pictures. Moreover, she won the respect of the nations of the world. Surely these are tests of greatness! But even if history does not term her great, it will say she was wise and good. "And perhaps wisdom is greatness, and goodness even better than greatness." Her influence on the social life of her people was certainly wonderful and unique.

Much of the Queen's goodness was due to her parents. Edward, Duke of Kent, was a noble man. Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg was a noble woman. Victoria was the child of their old age, and their home was hallowed by family affection. Early bereft of a father, she was brought up under the tender care of a sensible mother. The latter never forgot that she was rearing the future sovereign of a great nation. Victoria's training was carefully regulated so that she should admire virtue of every kind, be gentle and unaffected, thoughtful and natural. Great Britain owes much to the Duchess of Kent.

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The Queen's first request, when informed by the Archbishop of Canterbury that the King was dead and that she was Queen, was: "I ask your prayers on my behalf." It was the devout request of a noble young sovereign and was the keynote to her whole life. She desired to be kept humble that she might fill her responsible position to the glory of the nation and of her God. Apparently she desired no higher tribute than that paid her in her later years by Alfred, Lord Tennyson—

"She wrought her people lasting good."

In her home life, the Queen was no more and no less fortunate than the majority of women. Some two years after she ascended the throne she married the man of her choice. Prince Albert and Queen Victoria lived happily for twenty-one years and raised a family of nine children, four sons and five daughters. The happiness of this twenty-one years was unfortunately offset by subsequent sorrows. Her husband's untimely death was a great blow. Other family sorrows followed until she became so touched with grief that some have thought she felt too keenly the afflictions laid upon her. She was very fond of her sons-in-law, and the deaths of Frederick III. of Germany and of Prince Henry of Battenburg were great blows to her. She loved also her grandchildren and great-grandchildren and a break in the circle was keenly felt. If she grieved too much it was because she was a womanly woman, despite the fact that she was a Queen.

Queen Victoria as a monarch had both less and greater influence than any monarch who ever reigned at London. Government by cabinet has been so developed that the Sovereign has little legislative or administrative power. The House of Commons, since the Reform Bill of 1832, has been a House which a sovereign could not control. These two conditions have grown into the Constitution and become part of it. It was impossible for the Queen to choose her own advisers, to dismiss those she did not like, or to withhold her aid and counsel from those pursuing a policy which might not be entirely agreeable to her. The old days of absolute monarchy had gone, never to return. For this reason Professor Goldwin Smith thinks this vast aggregation of miscellaneous possessions should not be called an

Empire. "Empire is absolute rule" he claims, and the sovereign of the British Empire is by no means an absolute ruler. The real power lies in the House of Commons, which decides finally on all matters.

And yet the Queen had great power—but a power which differed in kind from that wielded by a Tudor or a Stuart, or even by George III. She kept herself always well informed upon affairs of state and insisted on knowing everything. To each of her great ministers she expressed her wishes freely and asked what she would. Whether or not she had her way, she treated them all, Whig or Tory, with good faith and simple loyalty. Every one of them learned to love and to know the sovereign who was frank with him, and never intrigued against him, who demanded the fullest confidence and gave in turn as much or more than she received. As her Empire grew, as her children married into the royal families of Europe, she became a great monarch. She was a lover of peace and undoubtedly helped to straighten many a tangle in European politics. She sympathized with the people of the United States in their long struggle to work out their destiny under a republican form of government, and her influence has always been for a good understanding between these two Anglo-Saxon peoples. It was as a diplomat and a peace-maker that the Queen wielded greater power than any other English sovereign. No other had the field at home or abroad for equal activities.

The period of the Queen's reign has been for Britain a triumphal march. A spirit of enterprise, endeavor and achievement possessed her people. Colonization, emigration, research, discovery, invention, have proceeded with unparalleled swiftness. The British Empire has increased in area nearly four millions of square miles. New nations have arisen in Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. The population of the British Isles has increased from twenty-five to forty-five millions, and many millions have been added in other portions of the Empire. The trade of this great Empire has grown by leaps and bounds. Railways, canals, steamboats, telegraph lines, cables, telephone systems, electric railways and a thousand great inventions have developed trade, industry and commerce. Mrs. Browning, George Eliot, and Charlotte Bronte; Carlyle and John Stuart

Mill; Darwin, Spencer and Huxley; Southey, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning and Swinburne; Thackeray, Dickens, Kingsley, Stevenson and Macaulay—these are some of the great names in the literature which have distinguished this wonderful period. The progress of science has been even more marked, and has nearly as many glorious names.

And not only has it been a glorious period for Great Britain, but for the world in general. The great nations, such as Russia, Germany and the United States, have become greater. International Law is an evidence that the relations between the national units have progressed with the times. They are more complex and complicated. While the world has been made smaller by steam and electricity, it has been made greater by these and other developments.

Truly the period is one worthy of consideration, and in it there is no more interesting figure than "The Little Widow of Windsor."

JOHN A. COOPER.

CHAPTER I.

The Crown and the Colonies—The Condition and Extent of Britain's Colonial Empire at Victoria's Accession—Expansion During Her Reign—The Neo-Colonial Idea and Its Evolution During the Victorian Era—The Birth of the Colonial Office as a Special Department of State—The B. N. A. Act the Fullest Charter Possessed by any Crown Colony—The Queen's Personal Influence in Colonial Government—Oath of Allegiance—Canada at the Jubilee—Culmination of Colonial Patriotism in Contributing Troops for Imperial Defense.

IN contemplating the constant progress of the British flag the mind is tempted by the Biblical simile—"as the waters cover the sea." But a mere index of colonial possessions does not place the finger upon the colonizing genius of the Victorian Era. That is to be seen most clearly in the process of transformation which the older colonies have undergone, particularly Canada, whose national birth is not beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The Canada that professed colonial allegiance to William IV. and the Canada that sent four thousand troops to the defense of the Empire in South Africa are, to all but the most unimaginative, two different countries. Many people do not know that within only a few years of Victoria's accession, our annual deficits were met by a draft on the Imperial Treasury. From 1818, the date which marks the last of such payments, the Canadian colonies, self-sustained, have gone forward with steady steps, and to-day our united confederation is one of the bulwarks of that great Empire on which the sun never sets, and a patriotic pattern for the younger outposts.

Before tracing this national development, however, it is instructive to examine the various stages by which the present colonial policy of Greater Britain has been evolved. In his excellent work on "British Colonial Policy," Egerton divides colonial history into the following divisions: the period of beginnings; the period of trade ascendancy; the period of systematic colonization (which includes the granting of responsible government); the period of the zenith and decline of the laissez-aller principles; and the period of Greater Britain.

The first of these periods, of vague description, is characterized by such charters as that granted to the Virginia Company in 1606, by which legislative authority is retained by the Crown, and executive functions delegated to a local Governor. The period of trade ascendancy was called into being by the Navigation Act of 1651, which in its operation induced the English merchant to follow the English ship-owner: and from 1660, for more than a hundred years, the raison d'etre of British colonies was to benefit the commerce of the mother country. This theory inevitably relegated the colonies to a position of permanent subordination in the economic evolution of the Empire. The great wars of the earlier half of the eighteenth century were trade wars—Ireland, the colonies, war and peace, were but pawns in the game which was to win Great Britain the commercial supremacy of the world. To eighteenth-century eyes this policy may have been a wise one, but its effect was to sacrifice the interests of the colony to those of the mother country. This was, in short, the Mercantile System—and its specific result was the American Revolution. Monopoly brought forth its fruit, and that fruit was the disruption of the Empire.

But the loss of the Thirteen Colonies did not immediately convince British statesmen of an erroneous colonial policy. Gradually, however, a new point of view was arrived at. Turgot had long ago remarked that colonies were like fruit which, when ripe, fell off: and the American Revolution was evidence that his wit might be also grim truth. The old colonial policy had been based on the theory of monopoly: but the doctrine of free trade was sapping that theory at its roots. This in time led to a virtual abandonment of the Mercantile System, and produced an attempt at systematic colonization on somewhat more liberal and enlightened principles. It was during this encouraging era that the colonies aspired to self-government. [The laissez-aller period, which follows closely upon the granting of self-government, was perhaps a natural result in view of the Liberalism that predominated the political life of the sixties. Although there were a few Little Englanders who even advocated the separation of the colonies from the motherland, the more deliberate statesmen of that day, with a pessimism that characterized the Manchester School, looked upon such

separation as inevitable; but pending such event they put forth their best efforts to make the eventual dissolution of the Empire as mild and dignified as possible. On the other hand, the English people were far from accepting the theories of these unenthusiastic politicians, and the passage of the British North America Act gave a most hopeful tone to Imperialism, and ushered in the Greater Britain period, the conclusion and outcome of which cannot this day be foretold, although speculation has been ventured by almost every public man between the two extremes, Joseph Chamberlain and John Morley. Mr. Egerton thus describes the culminating period:

"It must be remembered that those colonies had expanded into great democratic communities, and in many ways appealed more to the democracy than they could to the fastidious taste of the Whig oligarchy. Again, new facts had to be considered. The latter half of the nineteenth century has seen an immense recrudescence of militarism amongst the Continental powers of Europe. Nearly fifty years after the great Exhibition, which was to open out an era of peace, Europe presents the amazing spectacle of an armed camp. Face to face with this unexpected phenomenon, England has either to yield her place among the nations—and whatever the nature of the 'economic man,' prestige will always be dear to nations no less than to individuals—or else adapt herself in new ways to the new circumstances. But a world-empire, sea-girt, and resting on the command of the sea, is a spectacle at least as imposing as the nations-in-arms of the Continent; and this seems the ideal which England at last is realizing. Other causes have been also at work to act upon our colonial policy. Our chief concern, said Cobden, with foreign nations is to trade with them, but the chief concern of foreign nations appears to be not to trade with us. By dint of protective duties upon imports from abroad, and by bounties on home exports, the aim of every country appears to be to surround its trade with a ring fence. It may well be that such a policy is really suicidal, and that free trade has been none the less a benefit to England, because the sanguine hopes held out by its first prophets of its general acceptance have not been at all fulfilled; but it is natural that in the state of things we see around us, men should look more and more to the colonies as the producers of our new

materials and the customers for our manufactures, and hanker after some kind of zollverein among the scattered portions of the empire, however difficult it may be to enact such in express terms. Moreover, human nature remaining what it is, there is nothing which causes men to put so high a value on their own possessions as the observing that they are being coveted by their neighbors. The scramble for colonies among the Continental nations has had the good effect at least of determining the English not to be left behind in the race for empire. To these practical considerations others of a more theoretic nature have been added. A distinguished Cambridge professor threw a powerful search-light on the development of British empire, and brought home to thousands of readers, who had never before thought of it, the sense that, after all, our colonies are only England beyond the seas—a greater England, but England all the same. A brilliant American writer and naval expert first clearly made manifest the connection of England's colonial and Imperial greatness with the command of the sea, and carried home to the conviction of Englishmen the truth that, without that command of the sea, our scattered empire is only a source of weakness. The Press has also played great part in the new movement. For example, consider the influence of the weekly article in the Times on the colonies, and compare the spirit which animates it with the indifferent and half-contemptuous tone on colonial matters of the Times of thirty years ago. In this state of things, and when both political parties have, with a few exceptions, more notable for ability than weight, nailed to the mast the flag of British naval and colonial supremacy, we have traveled far from the period of laissez-aller. It is difficult to give a name to the new policy. The word IMPERIAL has too military a suggestion. Perhaps the words GREATER BRITAIN best describe the new point of view. A world-empire, the separate parts of which are being more and more closely linked by the discoveries of science, enjoying in each separate part absolute independence, connected not by coercion of paper bulwarks but by common origin and sympathies, by a common loyalty and patriotism, and by common efforts after common purposes, such, amidst much to alarm and to disturb, is the apparent outcome of history, the colonial policy with which

Great Britain will enter upon the untrodden paths of a new century."

To fit Canada into the scheme of colonial history that has been outlined, it is first necessary to point out that Canada does not figure at all in British colonial history till after 1760, which is well toward the close of the Mercantile period. The influx of United Empire Loyalists after the American Revolution naturally hastened the arrival of that period which is characterized by the granting of self-government, for it is obvious that the presence in Canada of this new and powerful element rendered necessary some modification of the Quebec Act. It almost goes without saying that the influence of the Crown upon the colony was by no means weakened by the special concession of a liberal constitution soon after their arrival, since it was personal adherence to the British Crown that sent them into the country.

While it is true that the recognition of American independence was the virtual death of the Mercantile System, its ghost still survived to distract politicians up to the final repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1849. But long before that date, notably in 1825, the direction of colonial affairs by the thoughtful Huskisson had resulted in the practical substitution of the theory of reciprocity for the time-worn doctrine of monopoly. And yet, while Huskisson was far in advance of his colleagues in the matter of colonial administration, it is evident that he hardly dared to hope that Canada could be indefinitely retained to the Crown. Christie, in his History of Lower Canada, reproduces a speech delivered by Huskisson in 1828 in which this passage occurs: "* * * * Whether Canada is to remain forever dependent upon England or to become an independent State * * * it is still the duty and interest of this country to imbue it with English feeling and benefit it with English laws and English institutions." This then, generally speaking, is the policy respecting Crown colonies that prevailed at the accession of Queen Victoria. All the later periods of colonial development are coeval with her era.

Those of us who have lived to cross the threshold of a new century will appreciate the wonderful development of colonial policy during Victoria's reign by comparing with the perfectly regulated system of responsible

government under which we live a picture of Canadian politics as they were in 1837. At that time, the government was popular but not responsible; and in addition, the executive machinery was singularly weak. The Executive Council were the advisers of the Governor, but there was no division into departments, no individual responsibility, and no individual superintendence. Each member of the Council took an equal part in all the business brought before it. The power of removing councillors was rarely exercised, so that the Governor was obliged either to consult advisers in whom he had no confidence, or to make use of only a portion of the Council. The secrecy of the proceedings, moreover, added to its irresponsibility. Upon the whole, no more unfit instrument could have been devised with which to oppose a demagogic Assembly. The Family Compact possessed themselves of all the important public offices by means of which, and of their influence in the Executive Council, they wielded all the power of government. The political friction which existed at this time is thus described by Lord Durham:

"Having no responsible ministers to deal with, it [The Assembly] entered upon that system of long enquiries, by means of its Committees, which brought the whole action of the Executive immediately under its purview, and transgressed our notions of the proper limits of Parliamentary interference. Having no influence in the choice of any public functionary, no power to procure the removal of such as were obnoxious to it on merely political grounds, and seeing almost every office in the colony filled by persons in whom it had no confidence, it entered upon that vicious course of assailing its prominent opponents individually, and disqualifying them for the public service by making them the subjects of enquiries and consequent impeachments; not always conducted with even the appearance of a due regard to justice; and when nothing else would attain its end of altering the policy or the composition of the Colonial Government, it had recourse to that ultima ratio of representative power, to which the more prudent forbearance of the Crown has never driven the House of Commons in England, and endeavored to disable the whole machinery of government by a general refusal of the supplies."

And yet, while on the surface a political revolution seemed about to be precipitated, it cannot be doubted that there was a fixed determination on the part of the great majority of the people not to break with the British Crown.

We have seen, and shall further see, that prior to the Victorian Era there had been no enlightened colonial polity within the limits of the British Empire; but a sketch of the development of the Colonial Office, as one of the principal departments of the Imperial Government, is necessary to a comprehension of the progressive system which has been worked out by the greatest colonizing power the world has ever seen. In these opening days of the Twentieth Century, colonies grow in importance, and in demand almost hourly. Even republics stretch out mailed hands across the seas to grasp an island here, an island there, or a peninsula somewhere else: isthmian canals are part of the scheme, and so are transcontinental railways, and Cape-to-Cairo routes. To-day, the main motives of international alliances, is the acquisition, retention, and development of colonial possessions. Great Britain, the United States, and Germany, in commercial advance of other nations, find their interests and ambitions running along one and the same line, and are naturally in accord. France and Russia have common interests in the Orient—to disturb England in India, and to widen their spheres of influence in China. Italy finds an alliance with England advantageous on account of African ambitions. Thus, it may be stated that the foreign or international policies of the Great Powers have come to depend more and more upon colonial possessions. It is for this reason that the Colonial Office, as an eminent state department, is distinctively a product of the Victorian Age.

To go back to its very beginnings: the first separate organization for the central administration of colonial affairs was a committee of the Privy Council "for the plantacons," instituted in November, 1660. A month later a "Council of Foreign Plantations" was created by Letters Patent. A few years later, in 1672, this special council was united to a Council for Trade, and the two together were known thenceforth as the "Council for Trade and Plantations." In 1677, this joint council was suppressed and its

functions, which had been very badly neglected, were transferred to the Privy Council. This arrangement continued till 1695 when the committee charged with the conduct of colonial affairs was reconstituted, with eight members of parliament as its personnel, and in this form continued to exist till 1782. From 1678, however, colonial affairs have been dealt with by a Secretary of State. In that year, a Secretary of State for the "American Department" was appointed; but this office was abolished by Burke's Act, in 1782, on the loss of the American colonies. This act also gave to a committee of the Privy Council all the functions exercised by the old "Council of Trade and Foreign Plantations," and pending the appointment of this committee, colonial affairs were dealt with by a subordinate branch of the Department for Home Affairs, styled the Plantations Branch. (At this time, the work of the two principal secretaries of state was divided into Home and Foreign Affairs.) In 1784, in pursuance of Burke's Act, the "Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations" was reorganized, and took over the colonial business from the Home Office. In 1793, on account of the war with France, a "Secretary of State for War" was appointed, who also was charged with the administration of the colonies; but these two departments were not actually united till 1801, when Lord Hobart was created "Secretary for the War and Colonial Department." Accordingly, from 1794, the Committee of Trade and Foreign Plantations came to be known as "The Board of Trade." After the conclusion of the French war, the attention of the Secretary for War was chiefly occupied with the business of the Colonies; and finally in 1854, the administration of the Colonies was made a special department of State.

The following is a list of Secretaries of State for the Colonies during the reign of Queen Victoria. (Of course, it will be remembered that up to 1854, the Colonial Secretaries were also Secretaries for War.):

1835. Lord Glenelg.
1838. Lord John Russell.
1839. Lord Normanby.
1841. Lord Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby).
1845. W. E. Gladstone.

1846. Lord Grey.
1852. Sir J. Pakington.
1852. Duke of Newcastle.
1854. Sir George Grey.
Feb., 1855. S. Herbert.
May, 1855. Lord John Russell.
July, 1855. Sir W. Molesworth.
Nov., 1855. H. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton).
1858. Lord Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby).
1858. Sir E. B. Lytton.
1859. Duke of Newcastle.
1864. E. Cardwell.
1866. Lord Carnarvon.
1867. Duke of Buckingham.
1868. Lord Granville.
1870. Lord Kimberley.
1874. Lord Carnarvon.
1878. Sir M. Hicks-Beach.
1880. Lord Kimberley.
1882. Lord Derby.
1885. Colonel Stanley.
1886. Lord Granville.
1886 E. Stanhope.
1887. Sir H. Holland (afterwards Lord Knutsford).
1892. Lord Ripon.
1895. Joseph Chamberlain.

Queen Victoria's first delegate to Canada, Lord Durham, found "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state." Her second representative consummated the political union of the two provinces in 1840. This date also marks the beginnings of responsible government in Canada, although for many years the full meaning of that system was not perceived, nor its whole purpose accomplished. Twenty-five years later, in 1865, a set of circumstances had been developed which made necessary a distinct step

forward. Canadian delegates were despatched to confer with Imperial ministers on the question of national defence, and on the matter of confederation. Their mission to England, in their own words, was "to inspire more just views as to the position and feelings of the Canadian people, and to draw closer the ties that have so long and so happily attached our provinces to the mother country."

This official utterance is remarkable in that it indicates the unwavering loyalty of the Canadian provinces at a time when colonial and Imperial enthusiasm was at its lowest ebb in England. The Crimean War and the Chinese War had severely demonstrated the incapacity of the Whigs and Peelites, and the spirit of England was depressed. Moreover, during the period immediately succeeding, the personality of Mr. Gladstone fills the center of the political stage; and about this time began the ascendancy of the Manchester School. Yet, in the face of it all, the Canadian provinces were working out an Imperial destiny in the British North America Act. That Act still constitutes the largest charter possessed by any dependency of the Crown, and forms the basis of the present constitution of the Dominion of Canada. It is worth while reviewing briefly its provisions.

The British North America Act, 1867 (30 and 31 Vic., c. 3), embodied in an Imperial Statute the resolutions which had been agreed upon at a meeting of representatives from all the provinces, held at Quebec in 1864. The Confederation was to be known as the Dominion of Canada, and was to consist of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Provision was also made for admitting to the union Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and British Columbia, as well as the less organized territories of the west. Under this Act, the Executive power over the whole Dominion was vested in the Queen and Privy Council constituting the ministry. Legislative power was vested in a Parliament, consisting of the Queen, a Senate, and a House of Commons, each House to possess such powers, immunities and privileges as might be defined by Act of Parliament, but so as not to exceed the privileges, immunities and powers exercised "at the passing of this Act," by the British House of Commons. The members of the Senate were to be nominated for life by the Governor-General, who made this and

all other appointments by and with the consent of the Privy Council constituting his Ministry. To prevent a possible clash between the Senate and the House, it was enacted that the Governor-General should have the power to summon three or six additional Senators, "representing equally the three divisions of Canada," but in such case no other person might be summoned "except on a further like direction by the Queen on the like recommendation," until each of the three divisions was represented by no more than twenty-four Senators. In no case was the total number to exceed seventy-eight. The House of Commons was to consist at first of one hundred and eighty-one members, of which eighty-one were to be elected for Ontario, sixty-five for Quebec, nineteen for Nova Scotia, and fifteen for New Brunswick. At each decennial census the representation of the four provinces was to be readjusted according to population—Quebec keeping the fixed number of sixty-five members, and the other provinces having their numbers readjusted in proportion. The duration of Parliament was to be five years. English parliamentary practice as to money bills was closely followed. Under the Statute, the Governor-General had power either to assent to colonial measures, to withhold his assent, or reserve them for the signification of the Queen's pleasure. In the case of bills reserved the assent of the Queen in Council must be announced within two years after their receipt by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The legislative powers were definitely divided between the Federal and Provincial governments; and on this point, Mr. Bryce in his American Commonwealth thus describes the difference between the American Federal Union and the Canadian Confederation: "Whereas in the United States, Congress has only those powers actually granted to it, the State legislatures retaining all such powers as have not been taken from them, the Dominion Parliament has a general power of legislation restricted only by the granting of certain specific and exclusive powers to the Provincial legislatures."

It is fitting that a chapter under the caption, "The Crown and the Colonies," should be brought to a close by demonstrating the personal influence which a constitutional sovereign has been able to wield in an essentially democratic Dominion.

The oath of allegiance prescribed by the British North America Act (Sec. 128) is brief, but pregnant with loyalty: "I, A. B., do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria." That oath says little, but means much: but two million French subjects are just as ready to pledge themselves as the four million English; and from the Atlantic to the Pacific there is no disloyalty. Secession or annexation cannot thrive in a Canadian climate. And that Canada has no "nationalist party," or, indeed, any sharp cleavage in her politics, has been due in large measure to the wisdom and personality of that great sovereign who has just crossed the bar. The Dominion of Canada is a monarchical country in every sense of the word, and Queen Victoria has done much personally to make it so. The doctrine of an absolute monarchy had been swept away before she came to the throne of England; but the position of the sovereign was not well defined till long after 1837. It is, in fact, from Queen Victoria that we have derived the modern and wise understanding of the relation of the constitutional ruler to the State: and no longer is it possible that the voice of the people should conflict with the Crown. It was Queen Victoria's high statesmanship that harmonized the democracy with the monarchy, and united the popular right of self-government with the authority of the Crown to influence and to modify. Nor in effecting this compromise did Her Majesty reduce the monarchy or impair its usefulness as an estate of the realm. Rather by setting the bounds of freedom wider yet did she place that monarchy on a firmer foundation—the affection of a united people and the loyalty of a world-wide Empire.

It has been shown that the rebellion of 1837 failed on account of the steadfast loyalty to the British Crown which predominated the country; and that to this day the fidelity of Canadians to the Sovereign has never wavered. It is true that there have been dark days in colonial history, political and industrial: but the Canadian patriot has never failed to find a satisfaction in the thought that Queen Victoria had a personal interest and sympathy for the colony whatever its distresses. The political motions of the sovereign are, for the most part, necessarily invisible, and in many matters of legislation we have not seen the hand of the Queen guiding the ship

of state; but occasionally the veil has been lifted, notably in the diplomatic adjustment of large issues, and that hand has been observed exercising a gentle and kindly authority, and making for concord and good-will among the nations. Similarly, the Queen's official attitude towards her colonial dependencies has not been always observable: but evidences are not wanting to show her especial interest in the Canadian Dominion. One of her earliest expressions of kindness was the sending of the Prince of Wales to make a progress through the country and to open the Victoria Bridge, in response to the invitation of the Canadian Parliament that Her Majesty and the Prince Consort should pay Canada a visit. Later, she was much concerned about Confederation. When the Canadian delegates were in England attending to the requisite legislation, she insisted upon seeing them and discussing the question with them. It was with pleasure that she learned that the business was progressing favorably, for, as she told Sir John Macdonald, she was most anxious for the welfare of her Canadian subjects. When the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, Her Majesty signalized the event by a cablegram of congratulation upon the accomplishment of a work which she hoped would result in much good to the Empire. No great Canadian has visited England without receiving an invitation to dine with the Queen at Windsor. It was while the guest of the Queen that Sir John Thompson died; and nothing could have been more kindly than Her Majesty's consideration on that sad occasion. From Windsor, by her command, after a funeral ceremony which she attended, the remains were reverently conveyed to one of Her Majesty's ships, which brought them to Canada.

In 1895 Queen Victoria graciously sat for her portrait at the request of a Canadian artist, who himself describes her favor thus: "The sitting was given in the historic white drawing-room nearest the private apartments. The Queen was attended by Princess Louise, with whom she engaged in conversation during the sitting. The conversation was carried on in German, which language the Royal family generally use in private. I noticed then that her voice was very strong and clear, and that her eyesight seemed exceedingly good. She seemed also very bright and lively in conversation.

She walked with the aid of a stick and an Indian attendant, but moved very rapidly. The Queen sat very well and was most considerate. I received many little courtesies, which were even more pronounced because I was a Canadian. This fact, so I was told, greatly assisted me in obtaining the permission of Her Majesty for a sitting."

The present Premier of Ontario, in the course of an eloquent tribute to the memory of Queen Victoria, said: "Looking over Her Majesty's career as Sovereign one is impressed with her sagacity in the management of her councilors. She presided over Cabinets composed of some of the greatest statesmen of the age. Among her Prime Ministers were Peel, and Russell, and Palmerston, and Beaconsfield, and Gladstone, and Salisbury—all men of strong convictions, and born rulers of men. Among such a variety of talent and such masterful men, one might suppose that the Sovereign would be overshadowed if not overawed. Not so. She was always Queen and Sovereign both. Her keen instinct as to what was best for the nation enabled her to guide even the strongest Minister through the most critical periods of political strife, and her voice, though not heard outside her own Council chamber, was the voice by which the will of the nation was really expressed. Who can measure her service to the Empire, and who can now in the hour of our sadness and bereavement estimate the tremendous loss to the Empire and the world which has now fallen upon them by the passing away of Her Sovereign Majesty Queen Victoria?"

Finally, it cannot be doubted that the personal qualities of the late sovereign had much to do with the shaping of the destiny of Britain beyond the seas. At the outbreak of the war in South Africa, her far-flung battle-line stood to arms: and Greater Britain drawing troops from the four quarters of the globe to meet an Imperial emergency presented an amazing spectacle to the world militant. The despatch of the Canadian and the Australian contingents indicates indeed the high-water mark of colonial history. "The strength of England," wrote Goldwin Smith, "lies in herself, not in her dependencies": but Queen Victoria lived to see the disproof of all Little England theories. Those who are not beyond middle-age, peradventure, will live to see strange things: but those who have outlived the Victorian Era have passed through the most wonderful period of all time.

CHAPTER II.

The Queen's Representatives in Canada—Provisions in the Canadian Constitution Respecting the Queen—Former Practice of Royal Representation and Steps by Which It has Attained Its Present Form—The Sovereign's Functions Defined—Notable Viceroys, and Incidents of Their Administrations—Lord Dufferin's Influence and the Events of His Regime—Princess Louise Comes to Canada.

IT IS a more or less common error to suppose that the Crown is not an active factor in the administration of Canadian affairs. As a matter of fact, the right of the Crown as the supreme executive authority throughout the Empire is indisputable and unquestioned. It is true that in Great Britain the royal prerogative has latterly fallen into disuse, but it is altogether a mistake to infer that the power of the Crown to reject laws has consequently ceased to exist. As a constituent factor in legislation, the royal authority still remains: but the constitutional exercise of that prerogative makes the machinery practically invisible. In respect to the colonies, however, the royal veto is not a dormant power, for the obvious reason that no colonial legislative body is competent to enact a law which is at variance with, or repugnant to, any Imperial statute which extends in its operation to any particular colony.

As a natural corollary to the colonial development of Victoria's reign, the royal representation itself has undergone somewhat radical changes; and while the office of the Governor-General to-day is not less regal or magnificent than in pre-confederation times, the complete evolution of a responsible government—"an image and transcript of the British Constitution," in the words of Lord Durham—has left the viceroyal functions more clearly defined and better understood than they were in the fifties. From Sir Charles Metcalfe to Lord Dufferin is a long step in Canadian constitutional history, although it is a short space by the calendar.

Besides special administrators, Queen Victoria was represented in Canada by sixteen Governors-General, as follows:

Lord Durham.
Sir John Colborne (Administrator).
Poulett Thompson (Lord Sydenham).
Sir Charles Bagot.
Sir Charles Metcalfe (Lord Metcalfe).
Lord Cathcart.
Lord Elgin.
Sir Edmund Head.
Viscount Monck.
Lord Lisgar.
Lord Dufferin.
The Marquis of Lorne (Duke of Argyl).
Lord Lansdowne.
Lord Stanley of Preston (Earl of Derby).
Lord Aberdeen.
Lord Minto.

Lord Durham's Report contains the following incisive description of the policy which prevailed at Victoria's accession regarding the vice-regal appointment: "Instead of selecting a Governor with an entire confidence in his ability to use his local knowledge of the real state of affairs in the colony in a manner which local observation and practical experience best prescribe to him, it has been the policy of the Colonial Department, not only at the outset to instruct a Governor as to the general policy which he was to carry into effect, but to direct him by instructions, sometimes very precise, as to the course which he is to pursue in every important particular of his administration. In this way, the real vigor of the Executive has been essentially impaired, distance and delay have weakened the force of its decisions; and the colony has, in every crisis of danger and almost every detail of local government, felt the mischief of having its executive authority exercised on the other side of the Atlantic."

The modification of that policy in the course of a single reign has been

considerable, but, like every other element in the British or Canadian Constitution, its transformation has been almost imperceptible. In fact, technically, the functions of the sovereign's representative have changed very slightly: the Governor-General is still appointed by letters-patent under the great seal, and supplied with "royal instructions." But to-day, even royal instructions are construed with a due regard for the unwritten as well as for the written articles of a colonial constitution. As long ago as 1838, Lord Durham found that the constitutional rights of a striving colony could not be transgressed even by a Whig of the Whigs. And indeed, it is quite remarkable that Lord Durham should have possessed such clear views as to the manner in which a colony should be governed, and himself have failed, in practice, to effect that compromise which Professor Goldwin Smith describes as the decisive suggestion of his Report. Lord Durham had advised the home government as follows: "We are not now to consider the policy of establishing representative government in the North American Colonies. That has been irrevocably done, and the experiment of depriving the people of their present constitutional power is not to be thought of. To conduct the government harmoniously in accordance with its established principles is now the business of its rulers; and I know not how it is possible to secure that harmony in any other way than by administering the government on those principles that have been perfectly efficacious in Great Britain. I would not impair a single prerogative of the Crown; on the contrary, I believe that the interests of the people of these colonies require the protection of prerogatives which have not hitherto been exercised. But the Crown must on the other hand submit to the necessary consequence of representative institutions; and if it has to carry on the government in unison with a representative body it must be content to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence."

Egerton describes the Durham Report as the most valuable document in the English language on the subject of colonial policy; and few Canadians entertain anything but respect for memory of the administrator whose brilliant essay did so much for our constitution. As has been suggested, Lord Durham's practices were not as commendable as his theories: and the

attacks made upon him by Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Brougham, and the Duke of Wellington left little to the imagination. Mr. Poulett Thompson was chosen as Lord Durham's successor; and succeeded in carrying out, after a fashion, the compromise which the Durham Report had suggested. Poulett Thompson had been a member of the British House of Commons, a business man of prodigious energy; and the government of Canada was to tax both his best effort and resource. The instructions given by Lord John Russell put him in the difficult position of one who reigned but did not govern; and Poulett Thompson wrote back, defining his own views as follows: "I have told the people plainly that as I cannot get rid of responsibility to the Home Government, I will place no responsibility in the Council; that they are a Council for the Governor to consult, but no more. Either the Governor is the Sovereign or the Minister. If the first, he may have Ministers, but he cannot be responsible to the Government at home, and all colonial government becomes impossible. He must therefore be the Minister, in which case he cannot be under the control of men in the colonies."

Neither was the position of the Governor very clear to some of the politicians of Canada, as is evidenced by a speech in which Mr. Draper, a prominent Conservative of the time, said "that he looked upon the Governor as having a mixed character; firstly, as being the representative of royalty, and secondly, as being one of Her Majesty's government and responsible to the mother country for the faithful discharge of the duties of his station, a responsibility which he could not avoid by saying that he took the advice of this man or of that man."

Mr. Thompson's great service to the country was the bringing about of the union of the two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada. No great opposition to the union was offered in Lower Canada, but in Upper Canada it required all of the Governor's great tact and judgment to overcome the difficulties thrown in his way by the Family Compact, which did not like the idea of losing power in its native province. Ultimately, the Act of Union was passed: and for his services, Poulett Thompson was rewarded with a peerage. But Lord Sydenham never modified his views as to the meaning of responsible government in the colonies; and to avert the diffi-

culty of an adverse council he plunged boldly into politics and by his own personal influence carried to victory the party which sided with him. This was indeed a skilful method of eliminating opposition to his government—but how far from our present system!

In the meantime, Lord John Russell and the Liberals had lost office, and Lord Sydenham's successor was named by a Conservative government in England. But the administration of Sir Charles Bagot, who was sent out in 1841, was not remarkable for any change of policy, except that Bagot was more disposed than his predecessor to give the system of responsible government a fairer construction, which smoothed the way both for himself and for colonial statesmen. It is worthy of note, however, that it was during Sir Charles Bagot's term of office that the first Reform ministry of Canada came into power, its leaders being Baldwin and Lafontaine. Mr. Lafontaine was an ardent French-Canadian, but unlike his friend Papineau he had not gone the length of rebellion. The sympathetic administration of Bagot was cut short by his death in 1843.

But the conciliating rule of Bagot was far from satisfying the autocratic Lord Stanley who, under the new administration, became Colonial Secretary. To fill Bagot's place, Stanley chose a man after his own heart, Sir Charles Metcalfe. Metcalfe had reached high eminence in the East Indian Service, had been sent as envoy to the court of Ranjit Singh, and had been successively Governor of Hindustan and of Jamaica. This experience, as may easily be seen, was no fit training for the governor of a colony whose people had quite decided to manage their own affairs. Accordingly, Metcalfe was not long in precipitating a conflict with the Reformers who constituted his Council, and who had a strong following in the Assembly. He claimed the right to make appointments to government offices, such as registrarships and shrievalties; but his advisers objected to this view on the ground that they were responsible to the people for all such appointments, and therefore should recommend the persons to be appointed. The Governor would not yield, and as Lord Stanley fully approved his course, Baldwin, Lafontaine, and all but one member of the Executive Council resigned. For some time, Metcalfe tried to govern without a ministry, as the Con-

servatives were not strong enough in the Assembly to form a government. At length, Mr. Draper was persuaded to take office and, forming a make-shift ministry, he appealed to the country. In the campaign that followed, Metcalfe, like Lord Sydenham before him, threw himself into the contest; and his critics have said that he left nothing undone that would secure the election of the party pledged to support him. By these remarkable tactics on the part of a viceroy, a small majority was secured: but Metcalfe soon afterward died—and with him died monarchical government in Canada.

About this time, the boundary question threatened to make trouble between the United States and Canada; and this prospect doubtless had much to do with the appointment of the Earl of Cathcart as successor to Sir Charles Metcalfe. Cathcart came of a family of soldiers, and was himself a man of high military reputation: but happily, diplomacy was not exhausted in the territorial controversy, and his two years' administration was undisturbed and uneventful.

"It is not the least of Lord Grey's services to his country," wrote an Englishman, not long ago, "that he should have selected Lord Elgin, at the time a political opponent, for the government of Canada." That was in 1846; and the succeeding eight years, which cover the administration of one of Canada's most distinguished governors, is an important period in Canadian history.

James Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine in the peerage of Scotland, was born in 1811. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, where, curiously enough, he had as companions and rivals his younger predecessors in the office of Viceroy of India, Dalhousie and Canning. Mr. Gladstone was also one of his juniors at both school and college, and recalls the circumstance that it was from young Bruce he "first learned that Milton had written any prose." Before he succeeded to the peerage, Lord Elgin sat in the House of Commons for Southampton, and in that time became attached to constitutional principles. He began his official career in 1842 as Governor of Jamaica, and during an administration of four years he succeeded in winning the respect of all classes. In 1846 he was appointed Governor-General of Canada, and, as was becoming in the son-in-law of Lord Durham,

Elgin set about deliberately and earnestly to give "a real and effective vindication of Lord Durham's memory and proceedings." The success that attended his efforts is still gratefully remembered. Alike from his political experience in England and his life in Jamaica, Lord Elgin had learned that safety lay in acting as the moderator of all parties, while applying fearlessly the constitutional principles of the mother country to each difficulty as it arose. In this, his frank and genial manners also aided him powerfully.

On his arrival in Canada, Lord Elgin found a bitter party conflict in progress. The Draper ministry was weak and tottering to its fall. Its opponents were led by Baldwin and Lafontaine, and the country was disquieted by an agitation over the "Rebellion Losses Bill," and by a demand from the ultramontanes for a different policy with regard to the Clergy Reserves. The Rebellion Losses Bill was a measure intended to make good to the Loyalists of Upper Canada the losses which they had sustained in 1837-8. The Draper Government temporized with the question, and, failing to satisfy the claims which the Lower Canadians were also making, it was defeated at the polls in 1849. The Baldwin-Lafontaine Government again come into office, and in presenting the Rebellion Losses Bill the Reformers made it a still more sweeping measure, proposing to pay, as well, a large sum to injured Loyalists in Lower Canada. At once a great outcry was raised that rebels were to be paid as well as Loyalists, and intense excitement prevailed. Nevertheless, the bill passed both houses, and was assented to by Lord Elgin, who felt it his duty to act on the advice of his Ministry, supported as it was by a large majority in Parliament. This course did not please the opponents of the bill, and riots ensued in Montreal and Toronto. In the former city, Parliament was in session; and an infuriated mob broke in, drove out the members, and ended by setting the Parliament Buildings on fire. Lord Elgin's life was put in some danger, and it was to this occasion that Carlyle unfairly alluded in his Latter Day Pamphlets, when he wrote: "Majesty's Chief Governor in fact seldom appearing, except to receive the impact of a few rotten eggs on occasion, and then duck in again to his personal contemplations." Lord Elgin asked to be recalled, but the Home Government commended his actions, and refused his request.

The period of Lord Elgin's administration was unfortunately a period of commercial depression, consequent upon the adoption of Free Trade in England in 1846, which deprived Canada of any advantage in the British market. Fortunately, however, this depression was much offset by the negotiation in 1854 of a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, which the tact and wisdom of Lord Elgin mainly secured. Other eventful features of the Elgin administration were, the building of railways in Upper Canada, and the adoption of a uniform rate of postage throughout Canada.

The Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin contain many evidences of his perspicuity and statecraft, and when events have so abundantly borne out his optimism, it is pleasant to quote the following excerpt from a letter in which he touches upon the Canadian race question: "Let them feel that their religion, their habits, their prepossessions, their prejudices if you will, are more considered and respected here than in other portions of this vast continent, and who will venture to say that the last hand which waves the British flag on American ground may not be that of a French-Canadian?"

Lord Elgin left Canada in 1854, destined for great things. Palmerston sent him as special envoy to China in 1856, and two years later he was despatched to Japan. The fruit of those two missions was the Treaty of Tientsin, and the Treaty of Yeddo. Then finally, Lord Elgin reached the summit of his political career in his appointment as Viceroy of India, an administration cut short by his death in 1863.

It is to be observed that an increasing and more sympathetic interest in the perfecting of responsible government was taken by the successive Governors-General. Henceforth the old regime of bureaucratic interference was at an end. But Canada had still some distance to go before finding an absolutely harmonious system of government. Sir Edmund Head, who succeeded Lord Elgin in 1854, thus describes the complexities of Canadian politics during his administration—and it will be noticed that the Governor-General is not lacking in enthusiasm—"If it is difficult for any statesmen to steer their way amid the mingled interest and conflicting opinions of Catholic and Protestant, Upper and Lower Canadian, French and English, Scotch and Irish, constantly crossing and thwarting one another; it is prob-

ably to the action of these very cross-interests and these conflicting opinions that the whole united Province will, under Providence, in the end, owe its liberal policy and its final success. In such circumstances, constitutional and Parliamentary government cannot be carried on except by a vigorous attention to the reasonable demands of all races and of all religious interests."

At the passing of the Act of Union, Lower Canada had a larger population, greater wealth, and a smaller public debt than Upper Canada; but within twenty-five years the relative importance of the provinces was reversed. Accordingly, the cry, "Representation by Population," had its origin in Upper Canada, where it was made the political platform of the advanced Reformers headed by Mr. George Brown. Mr. John A. Macdonald and Mr. George Cartier, the heads of the Conservative party, opposed themselves to the proposed alteration of the Constitution, and the political battles of the next few years raged about this question of representation in the House of Assembly. Several administrations were defeated in the years between 1858 and 1864, and finally it became evident that some change in the constitution must take place if harmony was to be preserved in the central government. In 1864 a political dead-lock was reached, and the only way out of the difficulty was a coalition ministry which had for its purpose the Confederation of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and if possible also the Maritime Provinces. It so happened that the Maritime Provinces themselves were discussing Confederation, and it had been arranged that a conference of their delegates should meet at Charlottetown, P. E. I., in September, 1864. The Canadian Government sought and gained permission to have representatives at that meeting. A second conference was held in Quebec, and there preliminary terms for the Confederation of the provinces were agreed upon. In 1866 the delegates met in London and drafted a Bill of Confederation, and this bill finally passed the Imperial Parliament and received the Royal assent on the 29th of March, 1867, under the name of the British North America Act. It came into force on the first of July, 1867, which has been since commemorated as Dominion Day.

The Queen's representative during this eventful period was Viscount

Monck, who thus became the first Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, under which title the confederated provinces (Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick) were known.

We have reached a point at which it is expedient to define the office and functions of the Sovereign's representative in Canada. This technical description has been left designedly till now, so as not to violate the order of time. The precise place which the Governor-General occupies in the Canadian Constitution is of later evolution than the British North America Act, although naturally it is based upon that statute.

In 1875 a circular setting forth the form of appointment and authority of the Governor-General was despatched to all the British colonies, inviting suggestions for such alterations as might appear to them to be specially advisable in the case of a particular colony. In Canada the matter was considered by a sub-committee of the Privy Council, and important amendments were proposed in which it was contended that Canada, as a confederated Dominion with representative institutions, was entitled to "the fullest freedom of political government." As a foundation principle necessary to be asserted and maintained in any instrument which might be issued for the purpose of defining the powers of a Governor-General, Hon. Edward Blake (who was then Minister of Justice) contended that it ought to be clearly understood that "as a ruler, the Governor-General does and must act through the agency, and upon the advice of his Ministers; and Ministers must be responsible for such action, save only in the rare instances in which, owing to the existence of substantial Imperial, as distinguished from Canadian, interests, it is considered that full freedom of action is not vested in the Canadian people."

For the further elaboration of this principle, Mr. Blake was despatched to England to confer with Lord Carnarvon, and, in 1877, the Colonial Secretary transmitted to the Governor-General drafts of Letters Patent constituting the office of the Queen's representative in Canada, of royal instructions to accompany the same, and of a commission appointing a Governor-General. Lord Carnarvon intimated that these instruments had been expressly framed to meet the views of the Canadian Ministers. These

drafts, after some further slight alteration, were accepted in November, 1877, and they constitute the present authority of the Governor-General. On the floor of the Imperial House of Commons, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach thus alluded to the instruments: "But while the revised and amended formularies, since promulgated for the regulation of the office of the Governor-General of Canada, have been framed in accordance with the actual political relations of these colonies to the mother country, it is important to observe that they do not abate or relinquish one iota of the rightful supremacy of the Crown, as the same may be constitutionally exercised in any part of the Queen's dominions upon the advice of responsible Ministers."

A learned discussion of the functions of the Governor-General is to be found in Todd's "Parliamentary Government in the Colonies." Clement more briefly describes his position as follows: "The Governor-General occupies a dual position. He is one of the Imperial Executive staff as well as the Executive head of the Dominion. In the former capacity, he is subject to the Imperial authority, which extends to all those subject matters which are within the category of matters of Imperial concern, controlled by Imperial legislation. In regard to such matters, his actions are regulated by instructions, general or specific, received from his official superior at home, or by Imperial statutes. In his capacity as Executive head of the Dominion, he acts by and with the advice of the Queen's Privy Council, and is, in the exercise of his executive authority in relation to matters within the legislative competence of the Dominion Parliament, subject to the control of that body."

The medium of communication between the Sovereign and her representative is the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and the Governor-General is likewise the only channel of communication for all representations of a public or private character, made to the Imperial authorities. So fixed is this latter rule, that all letters, memorials, etc., not so received, are referred back to the Governor-General for verification. "He constitutes," says Herman Merivale, a Permanent Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, "the only political link connecting the colony with the mother

country;" and Lord Elgin, in a private letter to Earl Grey, amplified that description when he wrote: "The office of the Governor tends to become, in the most emphatic sense of the term, the link which connects the mother country and the colony; and his influence the means by which harmony of action between the local and Imperial authorities is to be preserved."

Although the Governor-General's functions have not been herein detailed, it is perhaps clear that his office is not a mere parade, but that, on the contrary, the Sovereign's representative fills an important and necessary place in the Canadian Constitution. It but remains to touch briefly upon the administration of the last group of Queen Victoria's representatives in Canada.

Lord Lisgar succeeded Viscount Monck as the second Governor-General of the Confederated provinces, and after an uneventful term of office was succeeded, in 1872, by the Earl of Dufferin, perhaps the most distinguished of Canadian Viceroys. Lord Dufferin was born in 1826, and succeeded to the peerage at the age of fifteen. He was educated at Eton and Oxford. From 1849 to 1852 he was Lord in Waiting on Queen Victoria. He subsequently served as Under Secretary of State for War, and in the same capacity at the Indian office. In 1860 he went on his first important diplomatic mission—Commissioner of the Crown to Syria, entrusted with the settlement of the difficulties between the Mohammedans and Christians He accomplished this delicate mission with signal success, not only arranging the Turkish troubles, but bringing about a modus vivendi between the French and the warlike Druses. Soon afterwards, he was offered the Governorship of Bombay, but declined it on account of his mother's health. His appointment as the Queen's representative in Canada was made at the instance of Mr. Gladstone; for Lord Dufferin was a Liberal in English politics.

The six years of his administration were marked, from time to time, by viceroyal progresses throughout the Dominion, and the social life of Canada during this period was exceedingly brilliant. "Wherever he had been," writes a Canadian chronicler, "he had left behind him a reputation such as no previous Governor-General had ever gained. The splendid style

of the Earl of Elgin had been eclipsed; the magnificence of Lord Sydenham's entertainments had been more than surpassed. Lord Dufferin won all hearts from the very first. * * * With every successive step his popularity increased, and when he reached Ottawa, in the declining days of a delightful Indian summer, the whole city rose to meet and welcome him once more. * * * Here, as in Quebec, he inaugurated a series of princely entertainments such as Ottawa had never seen before. The dull capital became even gayer than Halifax, which up to this time enjoyed the reputation of being the most fashionable and aristocratic city on the continent."

But apart from its social aspect, the Dufferin regime was a remarkable period in Canadian annals. British Columbia had entered Confederation on the understanding that an all-rail route should be built from Ontario to the Pacific within ten years. Many thought such a bargain could not be carried out, as the time was too short and the cost too great. The elections of 1872 were fought mainly around this issue, and resulted in a majority for the Government (Sir John A. Macdonald's). In 1873 the Huntington Resolutions charged the government with the negotiation of a corrupt bargain for the construction of the Canadian Pacific, and the publication of certain letters bearing upon the matter threw the country into the most intense excitement. A fierce struggle in Parliament ensued, and the government resigned. During this critical period the wisdom and tact of Lord Dufferin were of great service to the country. British Columbia threatened secession, but the arbitration of Lord Carnarvon, then Colonial Secretary, dissipated the cause of strife over the Pacific railway.

At the expiration of the Earl of Dufferin's term of service, in 1878, a joint address was presented to him by both Houses of Parliament which bore testimony to the ripe wisdom, experience, and abilities displayed by that accomplished statesman. Special mention was made of his efforts and liberality in fostering literature, art, and industrial pursuits, and of the inestimable benefit derived from the eloquent manner in which Lord Dufferin was wont to bring the resources and future prospects of Canada to public notice. In conveying to the Earl of Dufferin Queen Victoria's congratu-

lations, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, then Colonial Secretary, said His Lordship "had done much to strengthen and deepen in the hearts of the Canadian people the spirit of loyalty and devotion to the British Crown and Empire, of which there had been so many gratifying indications."

November 25th, 1878, was an historic day for the city of Halifax. On that day, a cheering population, recruited by visitors from all parts of the Dominion, welcomed the Queen's daughter, the Princess Louise, and her husband, the Marquis of Lorne, who had been appointed Lord Dufferin's successor. The years of Lord Lorne's term of office are not specially characterized, except as showing the devotion of Canadians to Her Majesty's family. Social life naturally had a fillip, basking as it did in the very presence of royalty.

The administrations of Lord Stanley of Preston, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Minto constitute contemporary history, and their features are known to every one. It is perhaps too soon, therefore, to properly estimate the contributions which these Governors-General of to-day and yesterday have made to our national and Imperial development, and it may suffice to say that this last group of Sovereign representatives have preserved the regal traditions of their predecessors, socially and politically, and that in their hands the office of the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada has become one of the very highest places in the Empire.

CHAPTER III.

The Prince of Wales' Visit to Canada—Embarkation at Plymouth, 10th July, 1860—Arrival at St. John's, Newfoundland—Reception at Quebec—Driving Last Rivet of Victoria Tubular Bridge at Montreal—Laying First Stone of Ottawa Parliament Buildings—Trouble at Kingston—Brilliant Levee and Grand Ball at Toronto—Laying First Stone of Brock's Monument—Visit to New York.

IN 1858 a resident of Toronto named Norris circulated a petition to the Queen requesting her to confer authority on His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, or some other member of the royal family, to visit Canada and open the Toronto Crystal Palace. Mr. Norris took this petition in person to London instead of forwarding it through the Governor of Canada. This mistake led to its being treated with scant consideration.

The next year the Canadian Parliament, then in session at Toronto, decided upon an address to Her Majesty asking her to visit Canada the following year and open the Victoria bridge across the St. Lawrence River at Montreal. The address was moved in the assembly by the Hon. Mr. Cartier, Premier, and in the Legislative Council by the Hon. P. M. Van Koughnet. It was decided that the petition should be presented to Her Majesty by the Hon. Henry Smith, Speaker of the Assembly. Mr. Smith proceeded to London on his mission and was courteously received.

Early in 1860 Governor Head received a letter from the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, regretting that the Queen was compelled to decline compliance with this loyal invitation, as the distance was too great and the absence would be too prolonged. However, Her Majesty expressed the hope that, when the time for the opening of the bridge was fixed it would be possible for H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to attend the ceremony in her name. She also expressed her sincere desire that the young Prince, on whom the Crown of the Empire might devolve, should have the opportunity of seeing the Canadian portion of her dominions. This announce-

ment was well received in Canada, and preparations for the visit were at once commenced.

The Prince of Wales, now Edward VII., was nineteen years of age when he visited America. He was a jolly young Englishman, full of life and spirit, and he made his tour an event to be remembered by very many people. He danced and laughed with the prettiest ladies of Canada and the United States, and there are yet living a number of stately matrons who remember his gallantry. Ever since this visit the Prince has had a warm corner in his heart for both Canadians and Americans, and he has personal friends and admirers in both countries.

On the 10th of July, 1860, the Prince embarked at Plymouth on board H. M. S. Hero, one of the old "wooden walls of England." The suite accompanying His Royal Highness were: The Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies; the Earl of St. Germains, Lord Steward of Her Majesty's Household; Major-General the Hon. R. Bruce, Governor to the Prince; Major Teesdale, R. A., Captain George Gray, Equerries; and Dr. Ackland. The slow ships of those days occupied twelve days in sailing from Plymouth to St. John's, Newfoundland, and it was the 22nd of July when that port was reached. The Prince was accorded a brilliant reception. The town was gaily decorated, and gave itself up unreservedly to the jollities of the hour.

Eight days later, three guns fired in quick succession from the citadel at Halifax, told the people of that city that the Royal Squadron was sailing up the harbor. Six batteries saluted the Royal Flag with salutes of twenty-one guns. The Prince and his suite landed about noon at the Dockyard, where were assembled the leading dignitaries of the colony—for Nova Scotia was not then a part of Canada. The first to be introduced to the Prince was His Excellency, Governor Mulgrave, and after him the Mayor and Council of Halifax. The Mayor presented an address in which the Prince was welcomed as the son of the Queen and as "grandson of that illustrious Duke* whose memory is gratefully cherished as the warm and

*The Duke of Kent was once in command of the garrison at Halifax.

constant friend of Nova Scotia." The Prince rode on horseback at the head of a great procession through the brilliantly decorated streets, brilliant in spite of the rain which had fallen in the morning. Arriving at Government House, the members of the Legislature were presented and Premier Young read another address. Among the signatures to this were those of Joseph Howe and Adams G. Archibald. In the evening there was a state dinner and next morning a review of the garrison. Indian games were provided in the afternoon, giving the Prince his first view of the real red-man. In the evening three thousand persons attended a ball in his honor, his first Canadian partner—she may be called Canadian, even though it was seven years before Nova Scotia became a part of the Dominion—being Miss Young, a niece of the Premier. The next day the Prince witnessed a regatta, held a levee and dined with the officers of the garrison.

On August 2nd, His Royal Highness, accompanied by the Governor and the members of the Legislature, left by special train for New Brunswick. They called at Windsor and at Hantsport. At the latter place the party embarked on board H. M. S. Styx and proceeded to St. John, where they arrived at ten o'clock at night.

At daylight next morning the batteries thundered a welcome and the people of St. John hastened to catch a glimpse of the royal youth. He was received at the wharf by Governor Sutton and other officials and conducted to the house of the late Judge Chipman, which had been specially furnished for his reception. The firemen and societies made up for the fewness of the volunteers, and the route was lined with these and the anxious citizens. A levee was held in the Court House a little later, and among others two Indian chiefs were presented. In the evening the city was illuminated. It is said that some 25,000 visitors spent that night in St. John where there was accommodation for only a few hundreds. In spite of this there was neither row nor disturbance.

In those days the railway did not run all the way up to Fredericton, the capital of the colony, and the Prince traveled most of the eighty miles by boat. At every little shanty village along the route, up and down, the

people turned out to view the Forest Queen and her royal passenger. Flags were waved, bells rung, and muskets fired.

At Fredericton the Prince was lodged at Government House, and the town held a jubilation in his honor. Next day he attended Divine service for the first time since reaching the New World, the Lord Bishop of Fredericton preaching a suitable sermon in the Anglican Cathedral. On Monday the Government of New Brunswick presented an address, impressing upon the Prince that the people of that colony were descendants of the Loyalists of the American Revolutionary period. A levee was then held, and a public park inaugurated. In the evening there was the usual grand ball.

From Fredericton the Prince returned to Windsor via St. John and Hantsport. From there he proceeded to Truro and Pictou, both towns giving him a generous demonstration of their loyalty and devotion.

From Pictou the Prince sailed on the Hero to Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, the then smallest of the British colonies in North America, and now the smallest province in the Dominion. Here the usual luck of the trip was again experienced, and rain dampened everything. Governor Dundas received the Prince and conducted him to Government House. In the evening there was a general illumination and fireworks—and rain. Next day there was a levee. As in some other instances, the crowd was disappointed and only important personages presented by deceiving the public as to the hour at which it was to be held. There were more addresses and more replies. The preparation of the latter must have kept some person in the Prince's suite rather busy; several dozens had to be made every week during the tour, and each of course had to be different from all the others. Then followed a ball at the Provincial building, which was decorated and adorned with inscriptions. One of these is historical:

> Thy grandsire's name distinguishes this isle;
> We love thy mother's sway, and court her smile.

On August 11th the Prince again embarked on the Hero and the fleet sailed up the Gulf of St. Lawrence, bound for Canada. At Gaspé Basin they were met by the Governor and officials, who had come down from

Quebec in two steamers. It was on the morning of the 13th, in this beautiful basin, that the Prince was welcomed to the Province of Canada by Governor Head, the Hon. John Ross, President of the Executive Council, Premier Cartier, and other Ministers of the Crown. The whole fleet then started up the noble St. Lawrence, the route discovered by Cartier and won for Britain by the immortal Wolfe. Arriving at the mouth of the Saguenay the fleet turned north and passed into this beautiful tributary of the St. Lawrence. Pilots had been provided, but the Hero had unluckily picked up a pilot on the South Shore and went aground for lack of good direction. This caused a delay of a few hours and the transfer of the royal visitor to another steamer for the trip. This misfortune was followed by rain. Nevertheless the famous cliffs of Eternity and Trinity were viewed in their magnificent and solitary grandeur, and the variegated beauties of the river duly explained and noted. The next day the party landed at the River Ste. Marguerite, some six leagues within the Saguenay, and the Prince was again welcomed at this isolated spot as he set foot for the first time on Canadian soil. Here the party dined in tents erected for the occasion, and then went sea-trout fishing. While the Prince was busily engaged in this sport, the tide arose quickly about his isolated position and cut him off from the shore. A Mr. Price, who was the director of refreshments for the occasion, waded out, mounted His Royal Highness upon his back, and carried him across the gully to safety. After luncheon there was a canoe ride up the Ste. Marguerite to the salmon pools. It was evening before these were reached and the fishing was a disappointment. One salmon was hooked, however, and the Prince played him for a time. Mr. Salmon not being a loyal subject, objected to the game and made good his escape. The return journey down the river was made in forty minutes, although the up journey had consumed three hours. The Prince will no doubt still have memories of that stirring canoe trip.

On the evening of August 17th the fleet arrived off Quebec and came to anchor. This is said to have been a memorable evening, when several Canadian gentlemen of distinction enjoyed an unbended hour with the Prince, the Premier singing for His Royal Highness that famous French-

Canadian song "A La Claire Fontaine," with its beautiful refrain, "Jamais je ne t'oublierai."*

On Saturday, August 18th, the Prince ascended the heights of Quebec, but not as Wolfe climbed them when the gallant Montcalm held the rocky fortress. Three men of war—the Nile, Valorous and Styx—had arrived a few days before and assisted in the thunderous but peaceful welcome. The Prince was met on the landing by the Governor and the Canadian Ministers in all the glory of their blue and gold, and a more formal welcome was tendered him than those which had taken place at the mouth of the Ste. Marguerite and in the Bay of Gaspé. There were also present Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador at Washington; Lieutenant-General Sir W. Fenwick Williams of Kars, Sir Allan McNab, Sir E. P. Taché, Mayor Langevin and various civil and military personages of more or less importance. The wharf was ornamented with a spruce-tree pavilion duly bannered and flagged, and here the Mayor, surrounded by the City Council, presented the usual address. And yet not usual, because it came from a French people anxious to show their loyalty to their Sovereign and country. The Prince replied that Her Majesty would be pleased to hear from their own lips that all differences of origin, language and religion were lost in one universal spirit of patriotism.

On Sunday the Prince attended service in the Anglican Cathedral. On the Thursday following His Royal Highness presented the Cathedral with a handsome Bible bearing the royal arms on the cover and an inscription in his own handwriting.

Monday was a rainy day, yet the Prince found enough dry hours to visit the beautiful Chaudiere Falls, about five miles up on the opposite side of the river.

Tuesday was a busier day. A grand levee, an official dejeuner, a visit to the far-famed Montmorenci Falls, and a ball at which the Prince danced nearly every one of the twenty-five dances. the levee two Canadians kneeled to His Royal Highness and arose Sir Knights. These were the

*And never can that love forget.

Hon. Henry Smith, President of the Assembly, and the Hon. N. F. Belleau, President of the Legislative Council.

On Wednesday he visited Laval University, the Ursuline Convent, and the citadel. In the evening there was a grand display of fireworks on the beautiful esplanade, now known as Dufferin Terrace.

The next day under a glorious sky, amid the strains of Rule Britannia and the farewell cheers of happy citizens, the Prince left on the Kingston for Montreal. That night was spent at Three Rivers. The next night was spent near Montreal, for it was raining and it was thought best to postpone the triumphal entry.

Shortly after nine o'clock next day forty thousand persons saw the Prince land at the Montreal docks. The Mayor presented an address and a procession followed, introducing His Royal Highness to the city of wealth and narrow streets which lies at the base of Mount Royal. About eleven o'clock the Prince opened the Crystal Palace.

At one o'clock on that day the Prince performed the task which was the immediate object of his visit to Canada—the opening of the Victoria bridge —the link which united Western Canada with Eastern Canada and permitted the products of the West to be carried to the Atlantic when the St. Lawrence was closed by a rigorous climate. The Prince opened this magnificent piece of engineering work in the name of the Queen, terming it "a work unsurpassed by the grandeur of Egypt or of Rome, as it is unrivaled by the inventive genius of these days of ever-active enterprise."

Hon. John Ross, President of the Grand Trunk Railway, and other officials attended the Prince to a scaffolding erected at the Montreal end of the bridge. Mr. James Hodges, the builder, handed him a wooden mallet and silver trowel. With the trowel the Prince spread the mortar and the last stone of the masonry was lowered into place. The band struck up the National Anthem and that part of the ceremony was concluded.

The royal party then proceeded in a car to the central arch of the bridge, where the last rivet was driven. Then followed a magnificent luncheon given by the Railway Company, at which the Prince's health was drunk

with an enthusiasm which can never be surpassed by any body of men the Empire has produced.

That evening the police of Montreal proved themselves the equal of their more famous London prototypes. The Prince drove out in a carriage incognito to view the town's illuminations. Orders had been issued that no carriages should drive down the narrow decorated streets. When the Prince's carriage drove up a policeman held up his hand, and, though informed that it was the Prince's carriage, stood by his orders. The Prince did not drive down that street. Perhaps, however, the Prince yielded in order to avoid the publicity of which he had already experienced a great deal.

It is hardly possible, nor is it advisable, to follow the Prince farther in detail. The remainder of his trip through Canada was much like the part already described, with here and there variations.

There were occasional rains, there were many more loyal and carefully prepared addresses, there were levees and balls, luncheons and dinners. The merriment and celebration moved with the Prince's party, and where it was the people shouted and were glad. At the various places where he stayed, rooms were specially furnished for the occasion, and thousands of dollars were spent on decorations thought worthy of this royal personage. His carriages were newly upholstered, his bedroom suites carved with his crest, chairs and lounges intended for his use were upholstered in special and costly fabrics, pavilions were erected for the great occasions, crimson, gold and purple draperies hung wherever he visited or was lodged—nothing that a loyal and patriotic people could think of was considered too extravagant for the occasion. As has been indicated the greatest event in the Prince's visit to Canada was the opening of the Victoria bridge. The next in importance was the laying of the corner-stone of the new Parliament Buildings at Ottawa.

For some time the honor of being the Capital of Canada fell to Montreal. In 1849 an excited mob, displeased with Lord Elgin's conduct in signing the Rebellion Losses Bill, sacked and burned down the Parliament House. For this misconduct Montreal lost the honor of being the capital, and for

a time Parliament was called at Toronto and Quebec alternately. This was found inconvenient, and in 1857 an address was presented to Her Majesty praying her to select a new seat of government. Early in 1858 she selected a village on the Ottawa known as Bytown (Ottawa), and her selection was approved by the Legislative Assembly of Canada. Plans for a magnificent new Parliament Building were at once prepared, and the work of construction was begun in the fall of 1859. The Prince's visit to Canada was opportune in this connection, and it was decided to ask him to lay the corner-stone This he did on the first day of September.

His Royal Highness came up from Montreal by steamer, calling at several of the villages along the route. When opposite the Gatineau River, just below Ottawa, the party was met by a fleet of steamers and one hundred and fifty birch bark canoes. In the latter were 1,200 lumbermen and Indians attired in most picturesque costumes. With this escort he entered Ottawa, where he met with the usual reception and the usual addresses and the usual rain.

At eleven o'clock, September 1st, His Royal Highness and suite left the Victoria House for the site of the new buildings. Platforms had been erected for the occasion and a large crowd was present. The chief dignitaries of the Province stood within a railing which surrounded the spot, where the historic piece of Canadian marble was to be placed. The proceedings were opened with prayer. The mortar was duly spread by the Prince and the stone deposited in its resting place, the Prince giving it three steadying knocks with a wooden mallet. After it had been inspected by the engineers, His Excellency the Governor-General, announced the work done by the words: "I proclaim the stone fairly and duly laid in this work." Three cheers were given for Her Majesty, the Prince of Wales, and the Governor, and the ceremony was over.

In due time the Prince and his party left Ottawa by train and proceeded to Brockville, where the royal party embarked on the steamer Kingston, and took that charming trip through the Thousand Islands towards Kingston. Owing to the misunderstanding with regard to Orange decorations, the Prince did not land at Kingston or Belleville. At Cobourg he disembarked

and from there proceeded inland as far as Peterborough. Returning to his boat the Prince proceeded to Toronto, with a short call at Port Hope.

In Toronto, then as now the chief city in Ontario (then Upper Canada), the Prince received a magnificent reception, with the usual addresses, experienced the usual procession, attended one or two balls given in his honor, laid the foundation stone for a statue of the Queen which was never erected, and performed several other public functions.

The most important ball was given to the Prince and his suite at the Crystal Palace, where His Royal Highness danced until after four in the morning.

This part of the Prince's trip was made memorable by the misunderstanding with the Orangemen, to which reference has been already made. The Orange Order was very strong in the Province of Upper Canada, and being very loyal in sentiment, desired to do honor to the representative of the Sovereign. Accordingly arches were erected by the Order at Kingston, Belleville, and Toronto. The Roman Catholic inhabitants took some objection to these decorations, and the matter was brought to the attention of the Duke of Newcastle, who was in charge of the Prince. He decided that a display of this nature on such an occasion was "likely to lead to religious feud and breach of the peace," and wrote Governor Head to that effect. He also intimated that if such arches were found he should advise the Prince not to pass under them. The Governor informed the Mayor of Toronto and the Mayor of Kingston of the Duke's dictum. In spite of all protests the Orangemen raised their arches and appeared in full regalia at the Kingston landing. The Duke refused to allow the Prince to disembark, and while the boat was lying in the harbor wrote a letter to the Mayor strongly objecting to these "symbols of religious and political organization." No amount of persuasion could move either the Duke or the Orangemen, consequently the Prince did not land. The events at Belleville followed similar lines, much to the disgust of the citizens and especially the ladies, who were thus deprived of the pleasure of seeing the Prince.

At Toronto, fortunately, reason prevailed, and the Orangemen turned out without their regalia. Their arch had only one decoration to which

objection could be taken—a transparency of William III., Prince of Orange. The pernickety Duke and his royal charge passed under the arch before this was noticed, much to the disgust of the former. The story is told of how the Duke went out in the evening to view the arch at close range. As he stood gazing at it the assembled crowd treated him to a liberal dose of groans and hisses. The only punishment he could inflict on the city was to compel the Mayor to apologize on the pain of being excluded from the various social functions which were to follow. The Mayor apologized, and his wife had the honor of sharing the opening dance at the great ball with the Prince.

On Monday, September 10th, the Prince took a short side trip from Toronto to Collingwood over the Northern Railway to see the famous Georgian Bay. At the various towns along the route enthusiastic crowds assembled to do him honor.

Two days later the royal party proceeded to London. Great displays were made all along the line, arches, flags and evergreens being seen at every station. Addresses were presented at Guelph, Peterburg (in German), Stratford and London. At the latter point there was a procession and an evening illumination. Next day the party proceeded to Sarnia, where representatives from nearly all the Indian tribes of Upper Canada were among those to welcome the son of "The Great White Queen." One of the Ojibway Indians read an address in his native tongue. In return the Prince presented each Chief with a large silver medal hung on a brightly-colored ribbon. After a short trip on the lake, the party returned to London, where they attended a ball in their honor.

The Prince then proceeded via Woodstock, Paris and Brantford to view the famous Niagara Falls. That evening this natural wonder was gorgeously illuminated as if nature's awe-inspiring charms were not sufficient to impress royalty. Next day the celebrated Blondin crossed the deep chasm on a rope, carrying a man upon his back. He then walked back upon stilts to receive the congratulations and a well filled purse from the Prince.

On Tuesday, the 18th, the Prince visited Queenston Heights, where Upper Canada's hero, Sir Isaac Brock, fell defending his country. About

one hundred and fifty survivors of the War of 1812-14 were assembled here to do honor to the past and present. The Prince visited the famous monument erected to do honor to General Brock, and afterwards laid the top stone of an obelisk erected to mark the spot where that brave soldier fell mortally wounded. It bears this inscription:

Near this spot
Major General
Sir Isaac Brock, K. C. B.,
Provisional Lieutenant
Governor of Upper Canada,
Fell on the 13th of October, 1812,
While advancing to repel
The invading Enemy.

After this ceremony the Prince proceeded to St. Catharines and Hamilton, a ball being given at the latter place. From here he left for Windsor, and crossed to Detroit to visit the United States.

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

The reasons for the Prince's visit to the United States are explained by the following letter from the President:

TO HER MAJESTY, QUEEN VICTORIA:

I have learned from the public journals that the Prince of Wales is about to visit Your Majesty's North American Dominions. Should it be the intention of His Royal Highness to extend his visit to the United States I need not say how happy I should be to give him a cordial welcome to Washington. You may be well assured that everywhere in this country he will be greeted by the American people in such a manner as cannot fail to prove gratifying to Your Majesty. In this they will manifest their deep sense of your domestic virtues, as well as their convictions of your merits as a wise, patriotic and constitutional Sovereign.

Your Majesty's most obedient servant,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Washington, June 4, 1860.

Her Majesty replied that the Prince would return from Canada through the United States, and that she was pleased that he would have an opportunity "to mark the respect which he entertains for the Chief Magistrate of a great and friendly state and kindred nation." She further informed the President that the Prince would travel in his country as Baron Renfrew.

The Prince entered the United States at Detroit and was greeted by so vast a concourse of people that he had to gain his hotel by a side entrance. The whole city was illuminated and decorated, the river craft lighted with innumerable lamps. At Chicago his reception was just as enthusiastic and kindly. Between Chicago and St. Louis he stopped off for a day's shooting. Fourteen brace of quail and four rabbits were shot by the Prince. At one farm the proprietor stood on his porch and invited everybody to enter. "But not you, Newcastle," he cried; "I have been a tenant of yours and have sworn that you shall never set foot on my threshold." Except for this incident the hunting was much enjoyed by everybody, and why should not a royal Prince of nineteen enjoy a day of rare sport as well as any other healthy-minded youth?

At St. Louis the Prince opened the Western Academy of Arts and was welcomed at the Fair grounds by a large assembly of people. At Cincinnati there was a similar reception and another ball, at which the Prince danced all night. But he was growing weary of crowds and rush, and the party was glad to reach Washington, then a very small and a very quiet city. Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador, introduced him to the Washington authorities, and President Buchanan and his niece, Miss Harriet Lane, entertained him privately at the White House. There were two dinner parties and a levee.

One of the notable events was the visit of the Prince to Mount Vernon on the Potomac. Here the Prince saw the home of the man who had dared his royal great-grandfather and the British armies, and had taught the British authorities at London that colonial self-esteem must be respected. The Prince also visited Washington's tomb and planted a chestnut tree as a memorial of his visit.

The United States was then in the throes of the anti-slavery agitation.

The Southern leaders foreseeing that the friendship of Great Britain might be valuable in case of trouble, invited the Prince south. He visited Richmond, but was not well received by the common people. The party refused to proceed farther south, hurried back to Washington and proceeded to Baltimore and Philadelphia. Some day the historian may be able to chronicle the effect of this visit of the Prince to Richmond, for it possibly had something to do with holding Great Britain in the neutral attitude which she assumed during the subsequent struggle between the North and the South.

At Philadelphia the Prince went in state to the Academy of Music, where the opera "Martha" was presented. It was at this place that His Royal Highness first heard Patti sing. The people of Montreal had brought her, then a girlish phenomenon, up from New York to sing for the Prince, but the party left that city before the full programme was worked out. Patti, it is said, shed tears of disappointment. At Philadelphia she sang divinely and made a great impression on the impressionable Prince. The acquaintance formed there became a permanent friendship.

At New York, which the Prince reached by a revenue cutter which landed him at the Battery, the royal party was received by Mayor Wood and the militia of the city. The Mayor made an address of welcome, which is in strong contrast with the other addresses of the trip:

"Your Royal Highness:

"As Chief Magistrate of this city I welcome you here, and believe that I represent the entire population without exception."

The Prince replied:

"It affords me great pleasure to accept your hospitalities, which I have no doubt will be worthy of the great city of New York."

After a review of the troops the City Hall was visited, and the Prince then drove up Broadway, which was lined with soldiers and an enthusiastic crowd, to the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where he had quarters. Perhaps the most notable event of the visit was the ball—certainly the most notable social event. About 3,000 persons were present, and, in spite of the fact that part of the special floor gave way, the Prince enjoyed himself until five

a. m. The opening dance fell to the share of the wife of Governor Morgan of New York State. For the supper a special service of china and glass had been manufactured with the Prince's motto "Ich Dien" on every piece.

The Prince then visited West Point and Albany and viewed the magnificent scenery of the Hudson. From Albany he proceeded by rail to Boston, where he visited Harvard College, Mount Auburn Cemetery, Longfellow's home and Bunker Hill. There was another grand ball in Boston. It is said that after his visit to New York the Prince seemed listless. He and his party were tired by three months of receptions, cheers, and the bustle of traveling so many thousands of miles. Even Edward Everett's classical speech and Oliver Wendell Holmes' classical ode failed to move him. The latter was sung by school children to the tune "God Save the Queen." The first stanza runs:

God bless our Father's Land,
Keep her in heart and hand,
  One with our own.
From all her foes defend,
Be her brave people's friend,
On all her realms descend,
  Protect her throne.

At Portland the royal squadron was waiting and the Prince embarked amid the farewell cheers of the assembled Canadians and Americans. At 4:30 p. m. on the 20th of October the Hero raised her anchors and set sail on the return voyage. The voyage was a long one, owing to a storm which drove them back from the English coast, and the people of England became very anxious. So anxious, indeed, that two warships were sent in search of the Hero. However, she arrived safely and the people of England breathed more freely again. The Queen mother was greatly delighted with the success of the first political mission of her eldest son and heir.

CHAPTER IV.

Progress of Canada Under the Queen—Rebellion of 1837-38 in Progress—Lord Durham and His Famous Report—The Act of Union—Struggle for Responsible Government—Canada Given Control of Customs and Post Office—Confederation of the Provinces—Building of the Grand Trunk, Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial Railways—Addition of Manitoba and British Columbia—Development of Trade—Literary and Social Progress—Imperial Feeling.

DURING the Queen's reign Canada has maintained her place as the leading self-governing colony of the Empire, and her wealth has increased a hundredfold. New provinces have been erected where, in 1837, there were only trees and wild animals and the unprogressive redman. Towns and cities have sprung up and increased in size. Many miles of canals, thousands of miles of railways, and tens of thousands of miles of good wagon roads have been built, and the land is filled with the hum of commerce. Where in 1831 there were a million people there are now six million. In 1837 Canada's foreign trade was less than thirty million per year, now it is over three hundred million. In 1837 there were fifteen miles of railroad, now there are over seventeen thousand, with yearly earnings of over sixty millions of dollars. In 1837 British North America consisted of a half dozen isolated colonies without connection or sympathy. Now all these, with several new and important communities (but excepting Newfoundland) are numbered under one government, with a growing unity of sympathy and national feeling, and blessed with a system of government—federal, provincial and municipal—which is unequalled anywhere.

A PERIOD OF DEPRESSION.

Those were black days in the Canadas (now Ontario and Quebec) and the other North American colonies when it was announced that William IV. of Great Britain and Ireland had been succeeded by his niece, Alexandrina Victoria Guelph. On the 19th of June, 1837, the day before her succession to the throne, Sir Francis Bond Head met the Upper Canada Par-

liament in a special session, which lasted about three weeks, and which had been called to relieve the banks from certain penalties which a severe commercial depression threatened to impose upon them. Specie payments had been suspended, business was paralyzed, and the banks of Lower Canada, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia had found it necessary to repudiate their liabilities. But the banks of Upper Canada pursued a more honest and praiseworthy course and finally liquidated all claims. The main cause of the depression was lack of confidence, engendered by a commercial crisis in the United States.

The political troubles of the time also affected the commercial conditions. In the first place there was little intercolonial trade in North America. Newfoundland had little interest in the other colonies; Nova Scotia traded with New Brunswick, but neither New Brunswick nor Nova Scotia traded much with Canada. Each colony had its political troubles, although only in Canada did these lead to open rebellion. In the maritime colonies British connection was more highly valued, and even the extreme reformers hesitated to jeopardize that for the sake of more speedy reforms.

By 1847, through the efforts of her own reformers and with the help of Lord Durham, Lord Sydenham and Lord Elgin—three excellent Governors—Canada obtained home rule. The next year New Brunswick and Nova Scotia each gained the same boon.

Since 1848 the North American colonists, being left to govern themselves, have learned to exercise their powers in a conservative and careful manner. They have controlled their tariffs, postal system and other parts of the administration according to their ability, and have clearly proven that it is better for a colony to be governed by itself than by the Colonial Secretary in London. Canadian administrators and statesmen have exhibited those qualities of carefulness, broad-mindedness and astuteness which have been for the public advantage and for the best interests of Britain's possessions in North America. The governments of Queen Victoria gave up much to these colonies, but received in return a gratitude, a love and an allegiance which have strengthened the Empire and added much to its glory.

FREEDOM OF TRADE.

In the Act of Union of 1840 it was enacted that nothing in that Act should prevent the Parliament of the United Kingdom from establishing regulations or prohibitions regarding trade, or for the imposing, levying or collecting duties for the regulation of navigation or for the regulation of the commerce of the Province of Canada; provided always that the net produce of all duties so imposed should be applied to and for the said Province of Canada. It will thus be seen that the trade of the province was not wholly within local control, and that Great Britain still directed Canada's external trade policy. A great many concessions concerning revenues and disbursements were made by the same Act, but it was not until 1847 that the colonies in North America received full control of their custom tariffs. In that year the navigation laws were repealed by the Imperial Parliament, and from that time forward the home authorities would not interfere with a colonial trade policy, no matter how much it might be regretted. These concessions were due in part to the "Free Trade Policy" which was then so prominent in the British governmental policy, and in part to the new policy of allowing the colonies almost entire independence in all matters which related to their domestic welfare.

An indirect result of this change of trade policy was the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 between the United States and Canada, or rather Great Britain for Canada. This treaty gave fishermen of the United States the right to take fish of every kind, except shell fish on the sea coasts and shores, and in the bays, harbors and creeks of the British Provinces, without being restricted to any distance from the shore. The salmon and shad fisheries were not to be included. British fishermen were to have similar rights on the eastern coasts of the United States north of the thirty-sixth parallel. Certain commodities, such as grain, flour, and breadstuffs of all kinds, animals, meats, poultry, fish, lumber, hides, ores of metals, rice, hemp and manufactured tobacco, were to be admitted free into each country.

The St. Lawrence and the Canadian canals were to be as free to the United States people as to British subjects. The treaty remained in force

for eleven years and was mutually beneficial, although the United States Government put an end to it by giving the necessary year's notice. The interchange of commodities in the previous eight years averaged $14,230,763, while in the first year under the treaty it rose to $33,492,754, and to $50,339,770 in the third year.

The Confederation of 1867 had a considerable effect on commercial activity. Inter-provincial trade was encouraged, whereas intercolonial trade had been practically discouraged when the colonies were not united and when each had its own tariff. After 1867 there was no duty on goods passing from one province to another, and therefore inter-provincial trade has grown very considerably since that time.

Up to the 7th of August, 1858, the Canadian duties were not exceedingly high. The highest ad valorem duty was 20 per cent, and this was on leather and rubber manufactures only. The average of the charges on dutiable goods was less than 10 per cent, and there was a large free list. After the 7th of August, 1858, there was an increased rate, the ratio of duties collected to total imports being 11.6. Manufacturers of leather paid 25 per cent; a long list, including cashmeres, silks, straw goods, rubber goods, jewelry, hats, caps and bonnets, guns, patent medicines, tools, woolen goods, etc., were taxed 20 per cent, and a specific duty was imposed on coffee, spirits, ale, wine, sugar, tea, tobacco, etc. In 1878 a higher rate of duties was imposed under what is known as the "National Policy." The rate on dutiable goods varied from 20 to 50 per cent, averaging about 31 per cent. The total duties collected amounted, however, to but 16 per cent on the total imports. The total imports in 1895 were $110,781,682, of which $42,140,475 were free. On these the duty collected amounted to $17,887,269, or 16.1 per cent on the total imports. In other words, the duties in 1859 were to the duties of 1895 as 11.6 is to 16.1.

Since 1897 the Government of the Dominion of Canada, under Sir Wilfred Laurier, has adopted the system of giving Great Britain a preference in Canadian markets. The preference was at first (1897) 12½ per cent of the duty; this was afterwards increased to 25 per cent and again (1900) to 33⅓ per cent. At the same time the government has shown a prefer-

ence for specific duties over ad valorem, and a tendency to reduce the duties on raw materials.

A reciprocity treaty with France came into force on the 14th of October, 1895. Since 1865 several attempts have been made to negotiate a new reciprocity treaty with the United States, every Canadian Premier having tried his hand at it without success.

EXPANSION OF TRADE.

The accompanying tables show the expansion of imports and exports since 1837. The total foreign trade, in that year, of all the colonies now comprised in the Dominion of Canada was about twenty-nine million of dollars in value. In 1900 the foreign trade was a million dollars a day, while the internal trade had increased in greater proportions. Of course figures for foreign trade are available, whereas those of internal trade must to a great extent be a matter of observation and guess-work:

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF EXPORTS.

	1837.	1857.	1868.	1878.	1889.	1899.
Produce of Mine.....	$1,000,000	$286,469	$1,276,729	$2,762,762	$4,415,046	$13,365,442
Produce of Fisheries..	4,400,000	540,113	3,357,510	6,853,975	7,212,208	9,909,662
Produce of Forest.....	6,600,000	11,730,387	5,470,042	5,912,139	8,189,564	5,486,724
Animals and their Products		2,107,240	6,893,167	14,019,857	23,894,707	46,743,130
Agricultural Products..	500,000	8,882,825	12,871,055	18,008,754	13,414,111	22,952,915
Manufactures		398,821	15,675,274	17,780,776	22,292,516	34,244,220
Miscellaneous	700,000	121,120		401,871	783,652	99,169
Value of Ships built at Quebec		1,383,444				
Estimate of Unreported Exports		1,556,205				
Coin and Bullion and Short Returns			7,827,890	2,418,655	5,048,908	8,575,555
Foreign Products			4,196,821	11,164,878	6,938,455	17,520,088
	$12,600,000	$27,006,624	$57,567,888	$79,323,667	$89,189,167	$158,896,905

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF IMPORTS.

	1837.	1857.	1868.	1878.	1887.	1899.
Great Britain	$11,200,000	$17,559,025	$36,663,695	$37,431,180	$44,962,233	$37,060,123
N. Amer'n Colonies.		751,888	1,634,414	672,655 N'foundland	354,432	528,083
West Indies	2,000,000	26,823	1,396,553	1,033,849	1,942,182	907,895
United States	1,300,000	20,224,651	26,315,052	48,631,739	45,107,066	101,642,950
France	400,000		1,365,295	1,385,003	2,073,470	3,879,872
Germany	300,000		485,943	399,326	3,235,449	7,382,499
Other British Col'n's	1,300,000	868,211	938	156,540	774,987	1,544,192
Other For. Co'nt'r's			1,645,770	1,489,275	7,189,669	9,818,694
Free Goods			2,477,646			
	$16,500,000	$39,438,598	$71,985,306	$91,199,577	$105,639,428	$162,764,308

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF POPULATION.

	1831.	1841.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Ontario	236,702	455,688	952,004	1,396,091	1,620,851	1,926,922	2,114,321
Quebec	553,134	697,084	890,261	1,111,566	1,191,516	1,359,027	1,488,535
Nova Scotia	160,000	225,000	276,854	330,857	387,800	440,572	450,396
New Brunswick....	119,557	150,000	193,800	252,047	285,594	321,233	321,263
Manitoba					18,995	62,260	152,506
British Columbia...			1,500	3,420	36,247	49,459	98,173
Prince Edward Isl'd	32,292	35,000	50,000	80,857	94,021	108,891	109,078
Territories						56,446	98,967
	1,101,685	1,562,772	2,364,419	3,174,838	3,635,024	4,324,810	4,833,239

At first the trade was restricted by the trade policy of the mother land, as has been indicated. After this restriction was removed it was hampered by prejudices caused by Canada's colonial position, by mistaken ideas of Canada's climate and resources, and by the scattered nature of the settlements. The world knows Canada better than it ever did, but not so well as it should. At present the prospects for trade expansion are brighter than ever before in the history of the country.

RAILROAD PROGRESS.

Canada was slow in securing railways, and the resultant advantages of improved communications. The canal system was developed early, but a railroad policy was not adopted as soon as it might have been. The first

railroad was opened in England in 1825, and the great Liverpool and Manchester road in 1830. By this date there were twenty-three miles in operation in the United States. The first steam railroad in Canada was not operated until 1837, and it was a very short line of fifteen or sixteen miles, from Laprairie to St. Johns in the Province of Quebec (then Lower Canada). In the next twelve years we find a very slow growth, Canada having fifty miles in 1849, while the United States had 9,021 miles. After that period the growth was more rapid, there being 850 miles in 1856, and 1,880 miles in 1860. The accompanying table shows more fully the growth during the different periods:

RAILWAY PROGRESS.

	1837.	1849.	1856.	1860.	1875.	1885.	1899.
Miles	15	54	850	1,880	4,856	10,150	17,280
Passengers					5,190,416	9,672,599	19,133,365
Tons of Freights..					5,670,836	14,659,271	31,211,753
Earnings				*6,722,666	19,470,539	32,227,469	62,243,784

*See Dent's "Canada Since the Union of 1841," Vol. II, 140.

Notwithstanding the fact that railroads were more necessary in Canada than in Great Britain, there does not seem to have been the same rush to build them, and the "mania of 1845" did not extend to this colony. The epidemic, however, struck the country later, and 1850 to 1860 was a great railroading decade. In 1851 Montreal and Boston were connected, and on the occasion of the opening of this road a great international celebration was held in the latter city. Under large photographs of Lord Elgin and President Fillmore, which were hung across the street, was this inscription:

Now let us haste those bonds to knit,
And in the work be handy,
That we may blend "God Save the Queen"
With "Yankee Doodle Dandy."

There was a procession three and a half miles long. and a banquet, at which 3,600 people were present.

In 1853 the first locomotives in Upper Canada (Ontario) were run over the Northern Railway from Toronto to Bradford.

In this year the freight tariff of the Grand Trunk Railway (from Montreal to Portland) was one of the first documents published in Canada to use the dollars and cents system instead of the pounds, shillings and pence.

In November, 1856, some 4,400 people gathered at a banquet in Montreal to celebrate the opening of the Grand Trunk Railway from Toronto to Montreal. This railway was the first great road built in what is now known as the Dominion of Canada. Some of the shorter roads were very primitively conducted in those days. On one Quebec road, it is said, there was but one coach on the train, and it often contained butter, eggs, fish, vegetables, sheep, calves and passengers.

One great difficulty at this time was the crossing of the St. Lawrence at Montreal. The freight and passengers had to be taken across in barges, steamboats and sleighs. Twice a year, when the ice was forming or breaking up, traffic would be delayed one to three weeks. On August 25th, 1860, the Prince of Wales opened the Victoria Tubular Iron Bridge across this river, a structure which is nearly two miles in length, is sixty feet above the water, is borne on twenty-four piers, and cost $7,000,000. The engineer and designer was A. M. Ross and he was assisted by Robert Stephenson. Its upper works have recently been reconstructed and it is no longer a "tubular" bridge.

From this date forward, transportation through Canada began to grow rapidly. Before 1860, the Hudson's Bay Company sent its supplies for the North-West via sailing vessel to York Factory, in Hudson Bay. After that date they were sent via steamboat to Montreal, Quebec, or to Portland, thence by railroad to St. Paul, and then overland to Fort Garry.

Much money was lost by the early railroads being built with the wide gauge, five feet six inches. Two notable exceptions were the Toronto and Nipissing, and the Toronto, Grey and Bruce, which were built with a three feet six inch gauge. As the four feet eight and a half inch gauge was used by the United States roads, it became necessary to adopt it in Canada. The change from one width to the other entailed a great expense. Another

source of loss was occasioned by trying to use heavy English locomotives on the Canadian roads, with their light ballast, their sharp curves and their winter snowdrifts.

The building of the Intercolonial and the Canadian Pacific roads since Confederation have been large undertakings, which have cost Canada a great deal of money, but which have made possible a genuine confederation of the different provinces. Compared with her population, Canada has greater railroads than any other country in the world.

One of the latest engineering feats in Canada was the construction of the St. Clair Tunnel under the St. Clair River. It is 6,026 feet long, or with approaches 11,553, and cost $2,700,000.

One feature which strikes the student of recent Canadian history is the fact that the Canadian "upper ten" are, to a great extent, railroad people. A great number of the rich and important men in Canada are men who have made their fame and their wealth in promoting, building or managing railroads. Perhaps this is due to the magnanimity of the municipalities and of the Dominion and Provincial Governments in lavishly bonusing every railroad corporation which comes into existence.

STREET AND ELECTRIC RAILWAYS.

The first street railway company in Canada was organized in May, 1861, in Toronto. On the 11th of September the horse-cars were run for the first time on Yonge street in that city. In November of the same year, the first cars were run in Montreal. The horse car system extended slowly until within the past eleven years it has been superseded by the electric car system. This electric system has also been extended to short suburban lines such as between Grimsby and Hamilton, and between Aylmer and Hull. The advance to be made in radial railways is bound up with the general advance to be made in electricity, an advance which cannot at present be estimated or even indicated.

CANALS.

Canals have played an important part in the Commerce of Canada, and especially so in assisting the circulation along the great commercial aorta

made up of the St. Lawrence River and the great lakes. Even before the Victorian Era a number of canals had been opened for traffic. The Lachine Canal was opened in August, 1825, the Welland Canal in 1829, the Rideau Canal in 1832. In 1843, the Cornwall and Chambly Canals were opened, and enlargements, extensions, and new connections have been continually made since that year, until now there are eight canals between Lake Superior and tide-water, besides numerous canals on the tributary streams. The latest of these eight canals is the Sault Ste. Marie, opened in 1895. The total expenditure on canal building in Canada up to June 30th, 1899, was $92,036,524. Of this amount $20,692,244 had been expended before Confederation, $4,173,921 having been contributed by the Imperial Government. The total revenue from the canals since Confederation is $12,079,274, or an average of $377,477 a year. In 1898, there passed through these canals 29,448 vessels, with a tonnage of 6,618,475 tons.

The original locks of the Lachine Canal had a depth of five feet. In 1871, it was decided to deepen the canals on the St. Lawrence route to twelve feet, and now the policy is to have a navigable depth of fourteen feet, the new Soulanges Canal having that depth on the sill. The depth on the sill of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal is twenty-two feet.

Canada's canal policy, like her railway policy, has lacked unity, and as a consequence much money has been spent, and is yet being spent with little definiteness of object, and without the surety of a profitable return. Governmental and political exigencies lie at the root of the trouble, and have up to the present time prevented the undertakings being considered and managed from a purely business standpoint.

CANADIAN SHIPPING.

Canada has been building ships ever since about 1723, and claims that the Royal William, built at Quebec in 1830-1, was the first steam-driven vessel to cross the Atlantic. She has now a fleet of over 7,000 vessels, and comparing her registered tonnage stands fifth among the mercantile marines of the world. Her vessels connect her with Great Britain and

Europe on the east, with Asia and Australia on the west, and dot her inland lakes and large rivers.

On July 1st, 1867, when Confederation came into force, she had 5,693 vessels, with a registration of 764,654 tons. Now the figures are 6,427 and 690,525. There has been a decline in recent years, as in 1879 there were 7,347 vessels with 1,267,394 tons.

The development of Canadian railways, canals and shipping has had a most wonderful effect on trade and in opening new territory. The cost of transportation has been wonderfully lessened. The cost of living in the interior of the country is not much greater than on the coasts, and products from the interior are conveyed to the coasts at a cost remarkably low as compared with the rates demanded in 1837. Nevertheless, the development of the Canadian North-West depends to a great extent in the possibility of still further lowering the cost of transporting the animal and agricultural produce of that region to and beyond the Canadian coasts. This is one of the greatest problems which the people of this country are now facing.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

Scientific progress is cosmopolitan, and no one country can claim particular merit in this branch of knowledge. However, Canada has not been behind other countries in producing or housing scholars and in assisting them in their work. Sir William J. Logan and Sir William Dawson studied the Laurentian system of rocks, which are more prominently situated in Canada than in any other country, and gave to geology much valuable information about these primary rocks. The latter scientist has given to the world many valuable books on this and similar subjects. Sir Daniel Wilson, the late President of the University of Toronto, added to the world's knowledge of archaeology, while Horatio Hale was the Max Müller of America. There are many others who have passed away, and many who are still with us who have distinguished themselves by their researches, their investigations and their workings. Canada has not been without its inventors, and while it has benefited from the inventions of the citizens of other

countries, it has not received without giving in return. The Bell telephone is but one example of many.

The Royal Society of Canada for about seventeen years has been accomplishing a great deal of work of which too little is known even by our best citizens. Besides this body there are numerous associations throughout the country which are doing much for science in an unostentatious but effective manner.

The meeting of the British Science Association in Toronto in August, 1897, did much to develop the interest of Canadians in scientific subjects. We have not yet, however, fully realized the truth contained in the words uttered by James Russell Lowell, "Material success is good, but only as the necessary preliminary of better things. * * * The real value of a country must be weighed in scales more delicate than the balance of trade."

LITERARY DEVELOPMENT.

Canada's literary development has been exhibited in three striking phases: her educational system, her newspapers, and her volumes of poetry. It may hardly be correct to class education as a phase of literary culture, but there is such an intimate relation between the two that one is, in modern times, an adjunct of the other. And it can scarcely be denied that our superb and extravagant (in some ways) system of high schools, colleges and universities is an evidence of something more than business or even moral culture. Canada's claim is that she has the grandest educational system in the world, and some people aver that because the statement is true Canada is handicapped. The tendency of the system has been to produce professional men rather than business men, artisans and agriculturists.

As to the Canadian newspaper, it has developed wonderfully since 1837. There were very few papers then, and they were small, ugly and high-priced; now they are as numerous as in any other country in the world, maintain a higher standard than in most countries, are beautifully printed, and ably edited. In 1855 there were about one hundred publications including periodicals and political newspapers. Thirty years later the number had increased to six hundred and forty-six, British Columbia, the Terri-

tories and Manitoba having been added in the meantime. In 1898, the last year for which figures are available, there were twelve hundred and nineteen publications. Of these one hundred and thirteen were issued daily, eight hundred and fifty-five weekly, and two hundred and fifty-one monthly, the semi-weeklies and semi-monthlies being classed with the weeklies and monthlies respectively. Of these twelve hundred and nineteen publications ninety-eight are published in French and nine in German, three in Icelandic and one each in Danish, Swedish, Gaelic and Chinook.

The third phase mentioned above is our volumes of poetry. No country on the face of the globe has produced, proportionately, so many volumes of verse as Canada. Many of these are of minor importance; some of them contain valuable productions—poems which have been read with pleasure and delight by the best people of other countries. But the numerical strength of our poets, past and present, indicates the strong hold which literature has in the affections of the people of Canada.

Canadian literature, generally, is something of which Canada should be proud. It had its beginning when Champlain and Lescarbot and Charlevoix wrote historical works on "La Nouvelle France," and it is interesting to note in this connection that the first Canadian edition of Champlain's works appeared in 1830. But though our literature had such early beginnings it was, in 1837, of little importance. There was some intellectual activity in the dozen larger towns, but there was little publishing. There was no public school system, and the people had little time for general reading. But about this date there was born a greater activity which is linked with the names of Howe, Haliburton, Brown, Mackenzie, McGee, Ryerson, Cartier, Galt and other public men. The leading Canadian poets of the early part of the Victorian Era were Cremazie, Chauveau, Howe, Sangster, McLachlan and Heavysege, while Christie and Garneau were the leading historians. Since Confederation there have been new and worthy names, such as Dent, Todd, Kingsford, and Sir Daniel Wilson, together with many who are now living and still adding to their already enviable reputation. Some of these have gone abroad and, to their local reputation, added that won among competitors in the United States and Great Britain.

Not only is our literary progress evidenced by the larger number of persons who have done permanent and valuable work, but also by the increased yearly output of Canadian books. The number of copyrights issued affords some indication of the mental activity of the people. In 1868 these numbered thirty-four and in 1899 seven hundred and two. In 1898 the works were classified as follows: History 23, Biography 15, Science 30, Economics 6, Law and Jurisprudence 33, Theology 25, Education 52, Voyages, Travels, etc., 11, Fiction 34.

The development of public libraries comes next in this line of evidence. The growth of these has been remarkable. In 1837 there were less than half a dozen in this country, while now, according to figures compiled by Mr. James Bain, Jr., the Toronto Librarian, they number 512, with a volume total of 2,490,567. Of these 512 libraries 439 are in Ontario, 41 in Quebec, nine in Nova Scotia, two in Prince Edward Island, six in New Brunswick, four in Manitoba and five in British Columbia. There are five general government libraries, containing 250,000 volumes.

PULP AND PAPER.

One of the greatest discoveries which Canada has made during the period under consideration is the fact that her wilderness of spruce trees is a most valuable asset.

In 1837 the quantity of paper used in the Dominion was small as compared with the amount needed in 1901; consequently, there was no reason for even a dreamer to suspect that within three-score years the world would be looking to Canada for a large portion of its supply of paper-making material.

Had there been such a dreamer in 1837, and had he acquired a million acres of the most accessible pulp lands of the North American Colonies, and the right to the water powers closest to the centers of population and the seaboard, he or his heirs would now have an asset which would be worth many millions of dollars.

Even in 1871, according to the census returns, there were no pulp mills in Canada.

The census returns were wrong, however, but the omission shows how small was the industry.

In 1881 five mills were reported; in 1891 there were twenty-four mills. Now there are thirty-six mills, and the two largest produce as much pulp as the twenty-four mills did in 1891.

This development has taken place not only because it has been demonstrated that Canadian spruce is the very best quality for the purpose, but also because Canada is the possessor of the largest spruce forests in the world.

In addition to quantity and quality of material Canada possesses advantages in the wide distribution of water power and in the conditions of the labor market, all of which combined give her undoubted pre-eminence for the production of paper.

The making of paper is a corollary to the manufacture of pulp. In this industry there has been similar development, and the prospects for the future are equally bright.

THE POSTAL SYSTEM.

In February, 1837, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Rowland Hill published his famous pamphlet "Post Office Reform." In it a uniform rate of postage, one penny, was publicly advocated.

In Canada, at the commencement of the Queen's reign, the sending of letters was an expensive luxury.

There were no railway trains, and consequently no mail cars. The most common method of sending correspondence or traveling was by steamboat or stage coach.

In winter, of course, these were replaced by sleighs. As late as the early fifties it took ten and a half days for a letter to go from Quebec to Detroit, a distance which is now covered in about a day and a half.

Just previous to 1850 the rate on a single letter not exceeding one-half ounce in weight was 4½d for sixty miles and under.

For longer distances the rate was proportionately higher. It cost 1s 1½d to send a letter from Montreal to Toronto.

For the first few years of the Queen's reign the post offices of Canada and the other colonies were under the control of the British Postmaster General.

In 1844 we find the Post Office Commissioners of Nova Scotia petitioning the British Postmaster General to issue postage stamps for use in the colony. No notice was taken of this first request. A second appeal brought forth a polite refusal.

A few years later all the British North American Colonies joined in a demand for colonial management of the post office, and offered to account to the Postmaster General of the United Kingdom for all letters going to or by way of the United Kingdom.

The combined requisition stirred the Imperial Government to action. The time was opportune.

The leading men in the Imperial Parliament were beginning to recognize the fact, that to retain the affections of the colonies, a greater measurement of self-government would have to be granted them.

Consequently, when petitioned on post office affairs, an act was passed by the Imperial Parliament in the twelfth and thirteenth years of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, entitled "An Act for enabling Colonial Legislatures to establish Inland Posts."

After a great deal of correspondence between the various Colonial Governments an agreement regarding post office management was arrived at and an act was passed by the Legislature of each of the colonies of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island on the lines of the agreement.

The respective acts were approved by the Imperial Government and became law in each colony in 1850 or 1851.

With the introduction of colonial control of the post office and the issue of adhesive stamps the number of letters and post offices increased very rapidly.

In the first year of Confederation (1868) there were 3,638 post offices. The total number of letters posted was eighteen millions, or about 5.37

letters per head of the population. There were no post cards in use at that time.

In 1899 Canada had increased the number of her post offices to 9,420, and the number of her letters (including post cards) to one hundred and seventy-eight millions. The number of letters per head is now 28.3, or more than five times what it was in 1868.

In addition to the letters enumerated above, the Post Office Department in 1899 carried one hundred and twenty million parcels, consisting of newspapers, books, circulars, samples and other packages.

The mail subsidies for that year were $584,056; the total revenue derived from this source was $4,325,432, and the expenditure was about $400,000 in excess of this amount.

The money order department is now an important branch of post office work. In 1869 only 550 offices issued money orders; now there are nearly 2,000. In 1899 about $15,000,000 was transmitted in this way.

A postal note system was inaugurated in August, 1898.

FINANCE STATISTICS.

Perhaps nothing indicates the growth of a country so much as its governmental revenue and expenditure. There are no figures in existence to show this feature of Canadian history before 1868.

In that year the revenue was over $13,000,000 and the expenditure about the same. In 1899 the revenue was over $46,000,000, and the expenditure slightly less.

As compared with 1837 the revenue of 1900 would probably be ten times as great.

BANKS AND BANKING.

In 1837 there were less than half a dozen chartered banks in Canada, and the other colonies were no better served.

Only three or four of these institutions survived the financial crisis of that year.

Three of these are still in existence—the Bank of Montreal, and the Quebec Bank, founded in 1817; and the Bank of British North America, founded in 1836.

The growth of the first of these indicates the growth of the others, although the Bank of Montreal stands at the head of the list of banking institutions in America.

At an early stage in their history the Canadian banks established branches in various centers, and this branch system is now a distinguishing feature of Canadian banking in general.

It has undoubtedly proved of signal service in the development of business, furnishing complete banking facilities to places where a local bank could hardly have been founded.

These branches also give a certain uniformity to the bank note issues. The same notes being found in British Columbia as are found in Nova Scotia.

In considering this last statement, it is well to remember that in Canada all one dollar, two dollar and four dollar bills are issued direct to the people by the government.

All bills of a higher denomination are issued through the banks, and bear the name of the bank through which they are issued.

In 1868 the paid up capital of the chartered banks was $30,507,447; in 1899 this had increased to $63,726,399.

During the same period the bank notes in circulation increased from $9,350,646 to $41,513,139.

In 1868 Canadians were not very rich, and had on deposit only some $33,000,000; by 1899 their surplus cash had increased to the magnificent sum of $266,504,528.

Not only does this indicate the growth of the country's wealth, but it also shows the high regard and implicit faith which the public has in its chartered banks.

In addition to these deposits the Post Office Savings Banks in 1899 contained about $35,000,000. Other Government savings banks contained $15,000,000, and certain special savings banks another $15,000,000.

These three classes of banks combined had on deposit $66,000,000.

The loan companies in 1898 had on deposit $18,986,154.

Combining these three classes of deposit holders, viz., chartered banks, savings banks and loan companies, it will be found that the people of Canada have on deposit nearly $4,000,000.

This is a considerable amount, and indicates quite clearly that Canada is a prosperous country, and Canadians are a prosperous and money-saving people.

The figures given do not fully indicate this prosperity, for there is a large number of private banks throughout the Dominion.

MINERALS.

It would be unfair to close a sketch of this kind without some reference to the great progress that Canada has made during recent years as a mineral-producing country.

In this connection she is fast rising in the list as a producer of the precious metals.

In 1898 she stood sixth in the list, with her productions of gold and silver, being beaten only by Africa, the United States, Australia, Mexico and Russia, which rank in the order named.

In 1900 she was probably fifth, as the discovery of new mines in British Columbia and the Yukon increased her production so much that she probably displaced Russia in the list.

The production of gold is a matter only of recent years. As late as 1893 the value of the gold mined was less than $1,000,000.

So rapidly has the development proceeded that the output last year was about $30,000,000.

Canada also produces considerable quantities of copper, iron ore, lead, nickel, silver, platinum, asbestos, coal, petroleum, salt, granite and slate.

The value of the coal production in 1899 was over $9,000,000.

This promises to be greatly increased during the next few years, as new mines are being rapidly developed in British Columbia and the territories.